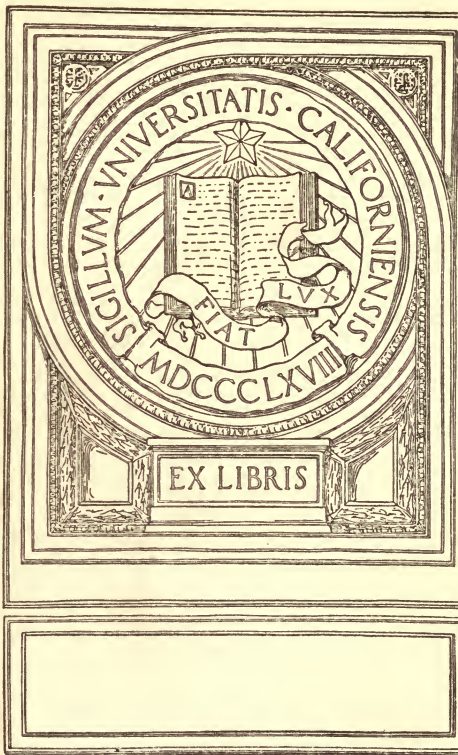


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Abigail Collins,
Bradford



THE
ALGERINE CAPTIVE;

OR, THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

DOCTOR UPDIKE UNDERHILL,

of Tyler, Royall
SIX YEARS A PRISONER

AMONG THE ALGERINES.

.....By your patience,
I will a round unvarnished tale deliver
Of my whole course.....

SHAKSPEARE.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

—*—
HARTFORD :

PRINTED BY PETER B. GLEASON AND CO.

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1816.

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NO. 1000
ALG. 1816

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

DAVID HUMPHREYS, ESQ.

MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES

AT THE COURT OF LISBON, &c.

IN Europe, dedications have their price ; and the author oftener looks to the plenitude of the pockets, than the brains of his patron.

The American author can hope but little pecuniary emolument from even the sale, and not any from the dedication of his work. To adorn his book with the name of some gentleman of acknowledged merit involves his whole interest in a public address.

With this view, will you, Sir, permit a lover of the Muses, and a biographer of private life, to address to you (a poet and the biographer of a hero) a detail of those miseries of slavery, from which your public energies have principally conducted to liberate hundreds of our fellow citizens.

UPDIKE UNDERHILL.

June 20, 1797.

PREFACE.

ONE of the first observations the author of the following sheets made upon his return to his native country, after an absence of seven years, was the extreme avidity with which books of mere amusement were purchased and perused by all ranks of his countrymen. When he left New England, books of biography, travels, novels, and modern romances, were confined to our seaports ; or, if known in the country, were read only in the families of clergymen, physicians, and lawyers : while certain funeral discourses, the last words and dying speeches of Bryan Shaheen, and Levi Ames, and some dreary somebody's Day of Doom, formed the most diverting part of the farmer's library. On his return from captivity, he found a surprising alteration in the public taste. In our inland towns of consequence, social libraries had been instituted, composed of books designed to amuse rather than to instruct ; and country booksellers, fostering the new-born taste of the people, had filled the whole land with modern travels, and novels almost as incredible. The diffusion of a taste for any species of writing through all ranks, in so short a time, would appear impracticable to an European. The peasant of Europe must first be taught to read, before he can acquire a taste in letters. In New England, the work is half completed. In no other country

are there so many people, who, in proportion to its numbers, can read and write ; and, therefore, no sooner was a taste for amusing literature diffused, than all orders of country life, with one accord, forsook the sober sermons and practical pieties of their fathers, for the gay stories and splendid impieties of the traveller and the novelist. The worthy farmer no longer fatigued himself with Bunyan's Pilgrim up the ' hill of difficulty,' or through the ' slough of despond ;' but quaffed wine with Brydone in the hermitage of Vesuvius, or sported with Bruce on the fairy-land of Abyssinia : while Dolly the dairy maid, and Jonathan the hired man, threw aside the ballad of the cruel step-mother, over which they had so often wept in cencert, and now amused themselves into so agreeable a terror with the haunted houses and hobgoblins of Mrs. Ratcliffe, that they were both afraid to sleep alone.

Although a lover of literature, however frivolous, may be pleasing to the man of letters, yet there are two things to be deplored in it. The first is, that, while so many books are vended, they are not of our own manufacture. If our wives and daughters will wear gauze and ribbands, it is a pity they are not wrought in our own looms. The second misfortune is, that novels, being the picture of the times, the New England reader is insensibly taught to admire the levity, and often the vices, of the parent country. While the fancy is enchanted, the heart is corrupted. The farmer's daughter, while she pities the misfortune of some modern heroine, is exposed to the attacks of vice, from which her ignorance would have formed her surest shield. If the English novel does not inculcate

vice, it at least impresses on the young female mind an erroneous idea of the world in which she is to live. It paints the manners, customs, and habits, of a strange country ; excites a fondness for false splendor ; and renders the home-spun habits of her own country disgusting.

There are two things wanted, said a friend to the author : that we write our own books of amusement, and that they exhibit our own manners. Why then do you not write the history of your own life ? The first part of it, if not highly interesting, would at least display a portrait of New England manners, hitherto unattempted. Your captivity among the Algerines, with some notices of the manners of that ferocious race, so dreaded by commercial powers, and so little known in our country, would at least be interesting ; and I see no advantage which the novel writer can have over you, unless your readers should be of the sentiment of the young lady mentioned by Addison in his Spectator, who, as he informs us, borrowed Plutarch's Lives, and, after reading the first volume with infinite delight, supposing it to be a novel, threw aside the others with disgust, because a man of letters had inadvertently told her the work was founded on FACT.

The first of these is the fact that the
country is a very fertile one, and the
people are very industrious. The
second is that the country is very
large, and the people are very
numerous. The third is that the
country is very rich, and the people
are very happy. The fourth is that
the country is very beautiful, and the
people are very kind. The fifth is
that the country is very healthy, and
the people are very strong. The sixth
is that the country is very safe, and
the people are very secure. The seventh
is that the country is very clean, and
the people are very neat. The eighth
is that the country is very quiet, and
the people are very peaceful. The ninth
is that the country is very warm, and
the people are very comfortable. The
tenth is that the country is very cool,
and the people are very refreshing.

THE
ALGERINE CAPTIVE.

CHAP. I.

——— Think of this, good sirs,
But as a thing of custom—'tis no other
Only it spoils the pleasure of the time.
SHAKESPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author gives an Account of his gallant Ancestor, Captain John Underhill,--his arrival in Massachusetts, and Persecution by the first Settlers.

I DERIVE my birth from one of the first emigrants to New England, being lineally descended from captain John Underhill, who came into the Massachusetts in the year 1630; of whom honourable mention is made by that elegant, accurate, and interesting historian, the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, in his History of New Hampshire.

My honoured ancestor had early imbibed an ardent love of liberty, civil and religious, by his service as a soldier among the Dutch, in their glorious and successful struggle for freedom, with Philip II. of Spain; in which, though quite a youth, he held a commission in the earl of Leicester's own troop of guards, who was then sent to the assistance of that brave people, by the renowned queen Elizabeth of England.

The extravagant passion which that princess was supposed to entertain for various male favourites, which occasioned the disgrace of one and the premature death of another, while it has furnished a darling theme to the novelist, and has been wept over in the tragic scene, has never yet received the sober sanction of the historian.

A traditional family anecdote, while it places the affection of the queen for Leicester beyond doubt, may not be unpleasing to the learned reader, and may benefit the English historiographer.

It is well known that this crafty queen, though repeatedly solicited, never efficaciously assisted the Netherlanders, until their affairs were apparently at the lowest ebb, and they in such desperate circumstances as to offer the sovereignty of their country to her general, the earl of Leicester. Captain Underhill carried the dispatches to England, and delivered them at the office of lord Burleigh. The same evening the queen sent for the captain, and, with apparent perturbation, inquired of him, if he was the messenger from Leicester, and whether he had any private dispatches for her. He replied, that he had delivered all his letters to the secretary of state. She appeared much disappointed, and, after musing some time, said—“So, Leicester wants to be a king.” Underhill, who was in the general’s confidence, replied, that the Dutch had indeed made the offer of the sovereignty of their country to her general—esteeming it a great honour, as they said, to have a subject of her grace for their sovereign. “No,” replied the queen, “it is not the Dutch ; they hate kings and their divine right ; it is the proud Leicester,

who longs to be independent of his own sovereign, who moves this insolent proposal. Tell him, from me, that he must learn to obey before he is fit to govern. Tell him," added the queen, softening her voice, "that obedience may make him a *king indeed*." Immediately after captain Underhill had taken the public dispatches, the queen sent for him to her privy closet, recalled her verbal message, delivered him a letter for Leicester directed with her own hand, and a purse of one hundred crowns for himself; charging him to inclose the letter in lead, sink it in case of danger in his passage by sea, and to deliver it privately. On the receipt of this letter, Leicester was violently agitated, and walked his chamber the whole of the ensuing night. Soon after, he resigned his command, and returned to England, animated by the brightest hopes of realizing the lofty suggestions of his ambition. With him captain Underhill returned, and upon the decease of the earl of Leicester, attached himself to the fortunes of the earl of Essex, the unfortunate successor to Leicester in the queen's favour. He accompanied that gallant nobleman in his successful attack upon Cadiz, and shared his ill fortune in his fruitless expedition against Tyrone, the rebel chief of the revolted clans of Ireland; and, returning with the earl into England, by his attachment to that imprudent nobleman, sallying into the streets of London in the petty insurrection which cost Essex his head, he was obliged to seek safety in Holland, until the accession of king James, in 1603, when he applied for pardon, and leave to return to his native country. But that monarch entertained such an exalted idea

of the dignity of kings, and, from policy, affected so great a veneration for the memory of his predecessor, that no interest of his friends could procure his pardon for an offence which, at this day, in this country, would be considered a simple rout or riot, and punished with a small fine. In that age of kingly glory, however, it was supposed to combine treason and blasphemy : treason against the queen in her political capacity, and blasphemy against her as God's representative and vicergerent on earth.

The reverend Mr. Robinson, with a number of other pious puritans, who fled from the persecuting fury of the English prelates, to Holland, in 1603, dwelt and communed with them a number of years. He was strongly solicited to go with governor Carver, Elder Brewster, and the other worthies, part of Mr. Robinson's church, to the settlement of Plymouth, and had partly engaged with them, as their chief military officer ; but captain Miles Standish, his brave fellow-soldier in the Low Countries, undertaking the business, he declined.

How he joined governor Winthrop does not appear, but he came over to New England with him, and soon after we find him disciplining the Boston militia, where he was held in such high estimation, that he was chosen to represent that town in the general court ; but his ideas of religious toleration being more liberal than those around him, he lost his popularity, and was, on the 20th of November, 1637, disfranchised, and eventually banished the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

The writers of those times differ as to the particular offence for which he was punished. Some

say that it was for holding the antinomian tenets of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson ; others, that the charge against him was for saying, " That the government of Boston were as zealous as the scribes and pharisees, and as Paul before his conversion." The best account I have been able to collect is, that at the time when the zeal of our worthy forefathers burned the hottest against heretics and sectaries ; when good Roger Williams, who settled Providence, the pious Wheelwright, and others, were banished ; he (with about sixty other imprudent persons, who did not believe in the then popular argument of fines, imprisonment, disfranchisement, confiscation, banishments, and halters for the conversion of infidels) supposed that the Christian faith, which had spread so wonderfully in its infancy, when the sword of civil power was drawn against it, needed not the same sword unsheathed in its favour, in an age when it was surrounded by numerous proselytes. These mistaken people signed a remonstrance against the violent proceedings which were the order of that day. William Aspinwall and John Coggeshall, two of the Boston representatives, who signed the remonstrance, were sent home, and the town ordered to choose others in their room. Some of the remonstrants recanted, some were fined, some were disfranchised, and others, among whom was captain Underhill, were banished.

It is said by some authors, that he was charged with the heinous crime of adultery, and that he even confessed it. The candid American author above named has fallen into this error. As I am sure it must have given him pain to *speake evil*

even of the dead, so I am certain he will rectify the mistake in the next edition of his invaluable history.

That author informs us, in page 43 of his first volume, "That he, captain Underhill, was privately dealt with, on suspicion of adultery, which he disregarded; and therefore on the next sabbath was questioned for it before the church; but the evidence not being sufficient to convict him, the church could only admonish him."—Page 45, "He went to Boston, and in the same public manner acknowledged his adultery. But his confession was mixed with so many excuses and extenuations, that it gave no satisfaction."

The unwary reader would perhaps conclude, that actual adultery was intended, as well as expressed, in these extracts. The reverend author himself did not advert to the idea, that the moral law of Boston, in 1637, was not so lax as the moral law of the same place in 1784, as explained by the practice of its inhabitants. The rigid discipline of our fathers of that era often construed actions, expressions, and sometimes thoughts, into crimes; which actions, in this day, even the most precise would consider either innocent, indifferent, or beneath the dignity of official notice. The fact is, that captain Underhill, so far from *confessing*, was never charged with committing, actual statute-book adultery. At a certain lecture in Boston, instead of noting in his Bible the texts referred to, according to the profitable custom of the times, this gallant soldier had fixed his eyes steadfastly, and perhaps inordinately, upon one mistress Miriam Wilbore; who it seems was,

at that very time, herself in the breach of the spirit of an existing law, which forbade women to appear in public with uncovered arms and necks, by appearing at the same lecture with a pair of wanton open worked gloves, slit at the thumbs and fingers, for the conveniency of taking snuff: though she was not charged with this latter crime of using tobacco. It was the *adultery of the heart*, then of which my gallant ancestor was accused, and founded on that text of Scripture, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

CHAP. II.

———— The glorious Sun himself
 Bears on his splendid disk dark spots obscure.
 Who, in his bright career, denotes those stains,
 Or basely from his full meridian turns,
 And scorns his grateful salutary rays?

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems.*

ARGUMENT.

The Author rescueth from Oblivion a valuable Manuscript Epistle, reflecting great light on the Judicial Proceedings in the first Settlement of Massachusetts : Apologiseth for the Persecutors of his Ancestor.

I HAVE fortunately discovered, pasted on the back of an old Indian deed, a manuscript which reflects great light upon my ancestor's conduct and on

the transactions of those times ; which, according to the beneficial mode of modern historians, I shall transcribe literally.

It should be premised, that in the year 1636, the governor, deputy governor, three assistants, and three ministers (among whom was Hugh Peters, afterwards hung and quartered in England for his adherence to Oliver Cromwell,) were entreated by the Massachusetts' court to make a draught of laws, agreeable to the word of God, to report to the next general court ; and, in the interim, the magistrates were directed to determine causes according to the laws then established ; and where no laws existed, then as near to the word of God as they could.

(Indorsed)

BROTHER UNDERHILL'S EPISTLE.

To Master HANSERD KNOLLYS—
these greeting.

Worthee and Beloved,

Remembrin my kind love to Mr. Hilton, I now send you some note of my tryalls at Boston.—Oh that I may come out of this, and al the lyke tryalls, as goold sevene times purifyed in the furnace.

After the rulers at Boston had fayled to fastenne what Roger Harlakenden was pleased to call the damning errors of Anne Hutchinson upon me, I looked to be sent away in peace ; but governour Winthrop sayd I must abide the examing of ye church ; accordingly, on the thyrday of ye weeke,

I was convened before them.—Sir Harry Vane, the governour, Dudley Haines, with masters Cotton, Shepherd, and Hugh Peters, present, with others.—They propounded that I was to be examined, touching a certain act of adultery I had committed with one mistress Miriam Wilbore, wife of Samuel Wilbore, for carnally looking to luste after her, at the lecture in Boston, when master Shepherd expounded.—This mistress Miriam hath since been dealte with for coming to that lecture with a pair of wanton open workt gloves, slit at the thumbs and fingers, for the purpose of taking snuff; for, as master Cotton observed, for what end should those vaine opennings be, but for the intent of taken filthy snuff? and he quoted Gregory Nazianzen upon good works.—Master Peters said, that these opennings were Satan's port-holes of fiery temptatione. Mistress Miriam offerd in excuse of her vain attire, that she was newle married, and appeard in her bridall arraye. Master Peters said that marriage was the occasion that the devil tooke to caste his fiery darts, and lay his pit-falls of temptation, to catch fraile flesh and bloode. She is to be further dealt with for taken snuff. How the use of the good creature tobaccoe can be an offence I cannot see.—Oh, my beloved, how these prowde pharisees labour about the minte and cunmine! Governour Winthrop inquired of mee if I confessed the matter. I said I wished a copy of there charge. Sir Harry Vane said, “there was no neede of any coppie, seeing I knew I was guiltie. Charges being made out where there was an uncertaintie whether the accused was guiltie or not, and to frighten the accused into the nature of his cryme,

here was no need." Master Cotton said, "Did you not look upon mistress Wilbore?" I confessed that I did. He said, "Then you are verelie guiltie, brother Underhill." I said, "Nay, I did not look at the woman lustfully."—Master Peters said, "Why did you not look at sister Newell or sister Upham?" I said, "Verelie they are not desyrable women, as to temporal graces." Then Hugh Peters and al cryed, "It is enough, he hath confessed, and passed to excommunication." I sayd, "Where is the law by which you condemne me?" Winthrop said, "There is a committee to draught laws. Brother Peters, are you not on that committee? I am sure you have made a law againste this cryinge sin." Hugh Peters replied, "that he had such a law in his minde, but had not written it downe." Sir Harry Vane said, "It is sufficient." Haynes said, "Ay, law enough for antinomians." Master Cotton tooke a Bible from his coate, and read, *Whoso looketh on a woman, &c.*

William Blaxton* had been with me privelie ;

* When our forefathers first came to Boston, they found this William Blaxton in the possession of the site where the town now stands. The general court, April 1st, 1633, granted him fifty acres of land near where his house stood, supposed to be where the pest-house in Boston formerly stood. He afterwards removed to Rhode Island, and lived near Whipple's Bridge in Cumberland. He planted the first orchard in that district, the fruit of which was eaten of one hundred and forty years afterwards, and some of the trees are now standing. He had been a minister of the church of England, preached often at Providence, and died in a good old age, much lamented.

he weeps over the crying sins of the times, and expecteth soone to goe out of the jurisdiction. "I came from England," saies he, "because I did not like the lords bishops; but I have yet to praye to be delivered from the lords bretherenne."

Salute brother Fish and others, who, havinge been disappointed of libertie in this wilderness, are earnestlie lookinge for a better countre.

Youre fellowe traveller
in this vale of tears,

JOHN UNDERHILL:

Boston, 28th Fourth Month, 1638.

It is with great reluctance I am induced to publish this letter, which appears to reflect upon the justice of the proceedings of our forefathers. I would rather, like the sons of Noah, go backwards, and cast a garment over our fathers' nakedness; but the impartiality of an historian, and the natural solicitude to wipe the stains from the memory of my honoured ancestor, will excuse me to the candid reader. Whoever reflects upon the piety of our forefathers, the noble unrestrained ardour with which they resisted oppression in England, relinquished the delights of their native country, crossed a boisterous ocean, penetrated a savage wilderness, encountered famine, pestilence, and war, and transmitted to us their sentiments of independence,—that love of liberty, which under God has enabled us to obtain our glorious freedom,—will readily pass over those few dark spots of zeal which clouded their rising sun.

CHAP. III.

The devil offered Our Lord all the kingdoms of the earth, when the condemned soul did not own one foot of the territory.

ETHAN ALLEN.

ARGUMENT.

Captain Underhill seeks shelter in Dover in New Hampshire—Is chosen Governor by the Settlers—Driven by the pious Zeal of his Persecutors to seek shelter in Albany—Reception among the Dutch—Exploits in the Indian Wars—Grant of a valuable Tract of Land—The Author anticipates his encountering certain Land-Speculators in Hertford—A Taste of the Sentiments of those Gentlemen—Farther Account of his Ancestors.

WHEN the sentence of banishment was passed on captain Underhill, he returned to Dover in New Hampshire, and was there elected governor of the European settlers; but notwithstanding his great service to the people of Massachusetts in the Pequod wars, his persecutors in Boston would not allow him to die in peace; for, by writing injurious letters to those he governed, by threats of their power, and by determining that Dover was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they forced him to flee to Albany, then possessed by the Dutch, under the name of Amboyna.

The Dutch were highly pleased with the captain; and after Dutchifying his name into Captain Hans Van Vanderhill, they gave him a command

of one hundred and twenty men, in their wars with the natives. It is said that he killed one hundred and fifty Indians on Long Island, and upwards of three hundred on the Main. The laurels of the famous colonel Church wither in this comparison. The Dutch granted him fifty thousand acres of land, then in their possession. Although the English, when they took possession of that country for the duke of York, afterwards James the Second, had promised to quiet the claims of the settlers, yet captain Underhill or his posterity have never availed themselves of the grant. When I mentioned this circumstance some time since in Hertford, certain gentlemen immediately offered to raise a company and purchase my right. I candidly confessed that I was not possessed of the title, and knew not the particular spot where the land lay, and consequently was unwilling to sell land without title or boundaries. To my surprise they laughed at my scruples, and observed that they wanted the land to speculate upon; to *sell*, and not to *settle*. Titles and boundaries, in such cases, I understood were indifferent matters, mere trifles.

My brave ancestor, at an advanced age, died in Albany, leaving two sons; the youngest of whom removed to the Mouth of Hudson, where some of his posterity flourish respectably to this day. The eldest son, Benoni, from whom I am descended, some years after his father's decease, after being the subject of various misfortunes, returned in impoverished circumstances to New Hampshire, where the family have continued ever since.

CHAP. IV.

Nor yet alone by day th' unerring hand
 Of Providence unseen directs man's path ;
 But, in the boding vision of the night,
 By antic shapes, in gay fantastic dream,
 Gives dubious prospect of the coming good ;
 Or, with fell precipice, or deep swoln flood,
 Dark dungeon, or vain flight from savage foe,
 The labouring slumberer warns of future ill.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

The Author's Birth, and a remarkable Dream of his Mother—Observations on foreboding Dreams—The Author reciteth a Dream of Sir William Phipps, Governor of Massachusetts, and referreth small Infidels to Mather's Magnalia.

I WAS born on the 16th of July, A. D. 1762. My mother, some months before my birth, dreamt that she was delivered of me ; that I was lying in the cradle ; that the house was beset by Indians, who broke into the next room, and took me into the fields with them ; that, alarmed by their hideous yellings and warwhoops, she ran to the window, and saw a number of young tawny savages playing at foot-ball with my head ; while several sachems and sagamores were looking on unconcerned.

This dream made a deep impression on my mother. I well recollect, when a boy, her stroking my flaxen locks, repeating her dream, and observing with a sigh to my father, that she was sure Uddike was born to be the sport of fortune, and that

he would one day suffer among savages. Dear woman ! she had the native Indians in her mind, but never apprehended her poor son's suffering many years, as a slave, among barbarians more cruel than the monsters of our own woods.

The learned reader will smile contemptuously, perhaps, upon my mentioning dreams in this enlightened age. I only relate facts, and leave the reader to his own comments. My own opinion of dreams I shall conceal, perhaps because I am ashamed to disclose it. I will venture to observe, that if we inspect the sacred scriptures, we shall find frequent instances, both of direction to duty, and forewarning of future events communicated by Providence through the intervention of dreams. Is not the modern Christian equally the care of indulgent heaven as the favoured Jew or the beloved patriarch ?

Many modern examples of the foreboding visions of the night may be adduced. William Phipps, a poor journeyman ship-carpenter, dreamt, that he should one day ride in his coach, and live in a grand house near Boston common. Many years afterwards, when he was knighted by William the Third, and came from England governor of Massachusetts Bay, this dream, even as to the situation of the grand house, was literally and minutely fulfilled. If the insect infidels of the day doubt this fact, let them consult, for their edification, the learned doctor Mather's *Magnalia*, where the whole story at large is minutely and amply related.—*It was the error of the times of monkish ignorance to believe every thing ; it may*

possibly be the error of the present day to credit nothing.

CHAP. V.

'Tis education forms the common mind :
 Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclin'd.

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author is placed at a private School—Parental Motives to a College Education—Their Design frustrated by Family Misfortune.

IN my childhood I was sent, as is customary, to a woman's school in the summer, and to a man's in the winter season, and made great progress in such learning as my preceptors dealt in. About my twelfth year, our minister, who made it his custom to inspect the schools annually, came to our district. My master, who looked upon me as his best scholar, directed me to read a lesson in Dilworth's spelling-book, which I recited as loud as I could speak without regard to emphasis or stops. This so pleased our minister, who prided himself on the strength of his own lungs, that, a short time after, coming to my father's to *dicker*, as they styled it, about a swap of cattle, and not finding my father sharp at the bargain, he changed the discourse upon me, observing, "how delighted he was with my performances at school. What a pity it was such a genius was not encouraged! Mr. Underhill,

you must put Updike to learning." My father pleaded poverty. "When I went to Harvard college," replied the minister, "I was poor indeed. I had no father with a good farm to assist me ; but, with being butler's freshman, and ringing the bell the first year, waiter the three last, and keeping school in the vacations, I rubbed through, and am now what I am ; and who knows," continued he, "but when Updike has completed his education, he may make a minister ; and possibly, when my usefulness is over, supply our very pulpit ?"

My mother here interfered. She was a little spare woman. My father was a large bony man, famous, in his youth, for carrying the ring at wrestling ; and, in his latter years, for his perseverance at town meetings. But, notwithstanding my father's success in carrying points abroad, my mother, some how or other, contrived always to carry them at home. My father never would acknowledge this ; but when a coarse neighbour would sometimes silyly hint the adage of the grey mare being the better horse, he would say to his particular friends, that he always was conqueror in his domestic warfare : but would confess that he loved quiet, and was of late tired of perpetually getting the victory. My mother joined the minister, observing that Updike should have learning, though she worked her hands to the bone to procure it. She did not doubt, when he came to preach, he would be as much run after as the great Mr. Whitfield. "I always thought," continued she, "the child was a genius ; and always intended he should go to college. The

boy loves books. He has read Valentine and Orson, and Robinson Crusoe. I went, the other day, three miles to borrow Pilgrim's Progress for him. He has read it through every bit ; ay, and understands it too. Why, he stuck a skewer through Apollyon's eye in the picture, to help Christian beat him. My father could not answer my mother's argument. The dicker about the oxen was renewed ; and it was concluded to swap even, though my father's were much the likelier cattle ; and that I should go that week and study Latin with the minister, and be fitted for college.

With him I studied four years, labouring incessantly at Greek and Latin : as to English grammar, my preceptor, knowing nothing of it himself, could communicate nothing to me. As he was enthusiastically attached to the Greek, and had delivered an oration in that language at the commencement at Cambridge, when he took his first degree, I, by his direction, committed to memory above four hundred of the most sonorous lines in Homer, which I was called to repeat before a number of clergymen, who visited him at an annual convention in our parish. These gentlemen were ever pleased to express astonishing admiration at my literary acquirements. One of them prognosticated that I should be a general, from the fire and force with which I recited Homer's battles of the Greeks and Trojans. Another argued that I should be a member of congress, and equal the Adams's in oratory, from my repeating the speeches at the councils of the heathen gods with such attention to the cæsura. A third was sure that I should become a Witherspoon in divinity,

from the pathos with which I declaimed Jupiter's speech to all the gods. In fine, these gentlemen considered the classics the source of all valuable knowledge. With them dead languages were more estimable than living; and nothing more necessary to accomplish a young man for all that is profitable and honourable in life than a profound knowledge of Homer. One of them gravely observed that he was sure general Washington read Greek; and that he never would have captured the Hessians at Trenton, if he had not taken his plan of operation from that of Ulysses and Diomede seizing the horses of Rhesus, as described in the tenth book of the Iliad.

Thus flattered by the learned that I was in the high road to fame, I gulped down portions of Greek daily, while my preceptor made quarterly visits to my father's barn-yaad for pay for my instruction.

In June, 1780, my father began seriously to think of sending me to college. He called upon a neighbour, to whom he had sold part of his farm, for some cash. His creditor readily paid down the whole sum due, in paper money; and my father found, to his surprise, that the value of three acres paid him the principal and interest of the whole sum, for which he had sold seventy-five acres of land five years before. This was so severe a stroke of ill fortune, that it entirely frustrated the design of sending me to college.

CHAP. VI.

Hetroclita sunt.

LILLY'S GRAMMAR.

ARGUMENT.

This Chapter containeth an Eulogy on the Greek Tongue.

WHAT added to the misfortune mentioned in the last chapter was, that a worthy divine, settled in Boston, passing through our town, told my father, in a private conversation, that all the Greek I had acquired was of no other service than fitting me for college. My father was astonished. He was a plain unlettered man, of strong natural abilities. "Pray, reverend sir," said my father, "do they not learn this Greek language at college? If so, why do such wise men as the governors of colleges teach boys what is entirely useless? I thought that the sum of all good education was, to teach youth those things which they were to practise in after life." "Learning," replied our enlightened visitor, "has its fashions; and, like other fashions of this world, they pass away.—When our forefathers founded the college at Cambridge, critical knowledge in the mazes and subtleties of school divinity was all the mode. He that could give a new turn to an old text, or detect a mistranslation in the version, was more admired than the man who invented printing, discovered the magnetic powers, or contrived an instrument of agriculture which should abridge the labour of the husbandman. The books of our faith,

with the voluminous commentaries of the fathers, being originally written in what are now called the dead languages, the knowledge of those languages was then necessary for the accomplishment of the fashionable scholar. The moderns of New England have ceased to interest themselves in the disputes, whether a civil oath may be administered to an unregenerate man ; or whether souls, existing merely in the contemplation of Deity, are capable of actual transgression. Fashion has given a new direction to the pursuits of the learned. They no longer soar into the regions of infinite space ; but endeavour, by the aid of natural and moral philosophy, to amend the manners and better the condition of man : and the college at Cambridge may be assimilated to an old beau, with his pocket-holes under his arm-pits, the skirts of his coat to his ankles, and three gross of buttons on his breeches ; looking with contempt on the more easy useful garb of the present day, for deviating from what was fashionable in his youth."

"But," inquired my father, "is there not some valuable knowledge contained in those Greek books?" "All that is useful in them," replied our visitor, "is already translated into English ; and more of the sense and spirit may be imbibed from translations than most scholars would be able to extract from the originals, if they even availed themselves of such an acquaintance with that language as is usually acquired at college.

"Well," replied my father, "do you call them dead languages. It appears to me now, that confining a lad of lively genius to the study of them, for five or six of the most precious years of his

youth, is like the ingenious cruelty of those tyrants I have heard of, who chained the living and the dead together. If Updike went to college, I should wish he would learn, not *hard words* but *useful things*."

"You spake of governors of colleges," continued our visitor. "Let me observe, as an apology for the concern they may be supposed to have in this error, that they are moral worthy men, who have passed the same dull routine of education, and whose knowledge is necessarily confined to these defunct languages. They must teach their pupils what they know, not what they do not know.—That measure which was measured unto them, they mete out most liberally unto others."

"Should not the legislature, as the fathers of the people, interfere?" inquired my father. "We will not talk politics at this time," replied our visitor.

My father was now determined that I should not go to college. He concealed this conversation from me, and I was left to be proud of my Greek. The little advantage this deceased language has since been to me has often caused me sorely to regret the mispending of the time in acquiring it. The French make it no part of their academical studies. Voltaire, d'Alembert, and Diderot, when they completed their education, were probably ignorant of the *cognata tempora* of a Greek verb.

It was resolved that I should labour on my father's farm; but, alas! a taste for Greek had quite eradicated a love for labour. Poring so intensely on Homer and Virgil had so completely filled my brain with the heathen mythology, that I imagin-

ed a hamadryad in every sapling, a naiad in every puddle ; and expected to hear the sobbings of the infant fauns as I turned the furrow. I gave Greek names to all our farming tools, and cheered the cattle with hexameter verse. My father's hired men, after a tedious day's labour in the woods, inspecting our stores for refreshment, instead of the customary bread and cheese and brandy, found Homer's Iliad, Virgil Delphini, and Schrevelius's Lexicon, in the basket.

After I had worked on the farm some months, having killed a fat heifer of my father's, upon which the family depended for their winter's beef, covered it with green boughs, and laid it in the shade to putrefy, in order to raise a swarm of bees, after the manner of Virgil—which process, notwithstanding I followed closely the directions in the Georgics, somehow or other failed—my father consented to my mother's request, that I should renew my career of learning.

CHAP. VII.

Delightful task ! to rear the tender thought,
 To teach the young idea how to shoot,
 To pour the fresh instruction o'er the mind,
 To breathe th' enliv'ning spirit, and to fix
 The gen'rous purpose in the glowing breast.

THOMSONS' SEASONS.

ARGUMENT.

The Author keepeth a Country School—The Anticipations, Pleasures, and Profits of a Pedagogue.

By our minister's recommendation, I was engaged to keep a school in a neighbouring town, so soon as our fall's work was over.

How was my heart dilated with the prospect, in the tedious interval previous to my entering upon my school ! How often have I stood suspended over my dungfork, and anticipated my scholars, seated in awful silence around me, my arm-chair and birchen sceptre of authority ! There was an echo in my father's sheep pasture. More than once I have repaired there alone, and exclaimed, with a loud voice, Is *master* Updike Underhill at home ? I would speak with *master* Underhill ! for the pleasure of hearing how my title sounded. Dost thou smile, indignant reader ? pause, and recollect if these sensations have not been familiar to thee, at some time in thy life. If thou answerest disdainfully—no—then I aver thou hast never been a corporal in the militia, nor a sophomore at college.

At times I however entertained less pleasing, but more rational, contemplations on my prospects. As I had been once unmercifully whipped, for detecting my master in a false concord, I resolved to be mild in my government, to avoid all manual correction, and doubted not by these means to secure the love and respect of my pupils.

In the interim of school hours, and in those peaceful intervals when my pupils were engaged in study, I hoped to indulge myself with my favourite Greck. I expected to be overwhelmed with the gratitude of their parents, for pouring the fresh instruction over the minds of their children, and teaching their young ideas how to shoot. I anticipated independence from my salary, which was to be equal to four dollars, hard money, per month, and my boarding ; and expected to find

amusement and pleasure among the circles of the young, and to derive information and delight from the classic converse of the minister.

In due time my ambition was gratified, and I placed at the head of a school, consisting of about sixty scholars. Excepting three or four overgrown boys of eighteen, the generality of them were under the age of seven years. Perhaps a more ragged, ill-bred, ignorant set, never were collected, for the punishment of a poor pedagogue. To study in school was impossible. Instead of the silence I anticipated, there was an incessant clamour. Predominant among the jarring sounds were—Sir, may I read? May I spell? Master may I go out? Will master mend my pen?—What with the pouting of the small children, sent to school not to learn, but to keep them out of *harm's way*, and the gruff surly complaints of the larger ones, I was nearly distracted. Homer's *poluphloisboie thalasses*, roaring sea, was a whisper to it. My resolution to avoid beating them made me invent small punishments, which often have a salutary impression on delicate minds; but they were insensible to shame. The putting of a paper fool's-cap on one, and ordering another under my great chair, only excited mirth in the school; which the very delinquents themselves often increased by loud peals of laughter. Going one frosty morning, into my school, I found one of the larger boys sitting by the fire in my arm-chair. I gently requested him to remove. He replied that he would, when he had warmed himself:—"father finds wood, and not you." To have my throne usurped, in the face of the whole school, shock my gov-

ernment to the centre. I immediately snatched my two-foot rule, and laid it pretty smartly across his back. He quitted the chair, muttering that he would tell father. I found his threats of more consequence than I apprehended. The same afternoon, a tall raw-boned man called me to the door: immediately collaring me with one hand, and holding a cart-whip over my head with the other, with fury in his face, he vowed he would whip the skin from my bones if ever I struck Jotham again: ay, he would do it that very moment, if he was not afraid I would take the law of him. This was the only instance of the overwhelming gratitude of parents I received. The next day it was reported all over town what a cruel man the master was. "Poor Jotham came into school, half frozen and near fainting; master had been sitting a whole hour by the warm fire; he only begged him to let him warm himself a little, when the master rose in a rage, and cut open his head with the tongs, and his life was despaired of."

Fatigued with the vexations of my school, I one evening repaired to the tavern, and mixed with some of the young men of the town. Their conversation I could not relish; mine they could not comprehend. The subject of race-horses being introduced, I ventured to descant upon Xanthus, the immortal courser of Achilles. They had never heard of 'squire Achilles or his horse; but they offered to bet two to one that Bajazet, the Old Roan, or the deacon's mare, Pumpkin and Milk, would beat him, and challenged me to appoint time and place.

Nor was I more acceptable among the young women. Being invited to spend an evening, after a quilting, I thought this a happy opportunity to introduce Andromache, the wife of the great Hector, at her loom; and Penelope, the faithful wife of Ulysses, weaving her seven years' web. This was received with a stupid stare, until I mentioned the long time the queen of Ulysses was weaving; when a smart young woman observed, that she supposed miss Penelope's yarn was rotten in whitening, that made her so long; and then told a tedious story of a piece of cotton and linen she had herself woven, under the same circumstances. She had no sooner finished, than, to enforce my observations, I recited above forty lines of Greek from the *Odyssey*, and then began a dissertation on the *cæsura*. In the midst of my harangue, a florid-faced young man at the further end of the room, with two large prominent foreteeth, remarkably white, began to sing,

“ Fire upon the mountains ! run, boys, run ! ”

and immediately the whole company rushed forward to see who should get a chance in the reel of six.

I was about retiring, fatigued and disgusted, when it was hinted to me, that I might wait on miss Mima home; but as I could recollect no word in the Greek which would construe into *bundling*, or any of Homer's heroes who *got the bag*, I declined. In the Latin, it is true, that *Æneas* and *Dido*, in the cave, seem something like a precedent. It was reported all over the town

the next day, that master was a *papish*, as he had talked French two hours.

Disappointed of recreation among the young, my next object was the minister. Here I expected pleasure and profit. He had spent many years in preaching for the edification of private families, and was settled in the town in a fit of enthusiasm; when the people drove away a clergyman, respectable for his years and learning. This he was pleased to call an *awakening*. He lectured me at the first onset for not attending the conference and night meetings; talked much of gifts, and decried human learning as carnal and devilish; and well he might, he certainly was under no obligations to it; for a new singing master coming into town, the young people, by their master's advice, were for introducing Dr. Watts's version of the Psalms. Although I argued with the minister an hour, he remains firmly convinced to this day, that the version of Sternhold and Hopkins is the same in language, letter, and metre, with those psalms king David chanted in the city of Jerusalem.

As for the independence I had founded on my wages, it vanished like the rest of my scholastic prospects. I had contracted some debts. My request for present payment was received with astonishment. I found I was not to expect it until the next autumn, and then not in cash, but produce; to become my own collector, and pick up my dues, half a peck of corn or rye in a place.

I was almost distracted, and yearned for the expiration of my contract, when an unexpected period was put to my distress. News was brought,

that, by the carelessness of the boys, the school-house was burnt down. The common cry now was, that I ought in justice to pay for it, as to my want of proper government the carelessness of the boys ought to be imputed. The beating of Jotham was forgotten, and a thousand stories of my want of proper spirit circulated. These reports, and even the loss of a valuable *Gradus ad Parnassum*, did not damp my joy. I am sometimes led to believe, that my emancipation from real slavery in Algiers did not afford me sincerer joy than I experienced at that moment.

I returned to my father, who received me with kindness. My mother heard the story of my discomfitures with transport ; as she said she had no doubt that her dream about my falling into the hands of savages was now out.

CHAP. VIII.

Search then the ruling passion.

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

A sure Mode of discovering the Bent of a young Man's Genius.

I ABODE at home the remainder of the winter. It was determined that I should pursue one of the learned professions ; my father, with parental pride and partiality, conceiving my aversion to labour, my inattention to farming business, and the tricks

I had played him the preceding season, as the sure indications of genius. He now told the story of the putrefied heifer with triumph; as he had read in the news-papers, that playing with paper kites was the foundation of doctor Franklin's fame; that John Locke, who dissected the human mind, and discovered the circulation of the soul, had, in the full exercise of his understanding, played at duck and drake on the Thames with his gold watch, while he gravely returned the pebble-stone which he held in his other hand into his fob; and that the learned sir Isaac Newton made soap bladders with the funk of a tobacco pipe, and was ever after, so enamoured with his sooty funk, as to make use of the delicate finger of a young lady he courted, as a pipe-stopper.

I was allowed the choice of my profession, to discover the bent of my genius. By the advice of a friend, my father put into my hands what he was told were some of the prime books in the several sciences. In divinity, I read ten funeral, five election, three ordination, and seventeen farewell sermons, Bunyan's Holy War, the Life of Colonel Gardner, and the Religious Courtship. In law, the Statutes of New Hampshire, and Burn's Justice abridged. In physic, Buchan's Family Physician, Culpepper's Midwifery, and Turner's Surgery. The agreeable manner in which this last author relates his own wonderful cures, the lives of his patients, and his remarkable dexterity in extracting a pound of candles from the arm of a wounded soldier; the spirited horse, the neat little saddle bags, and tipped bridle of our own doctor, determined me in favour of physic. My fa-

ther did not oppose my choice. He only dryly observed, that he did not know what pretensions, our family had to practice physic, as he could not learn that we had ever been remarkable for killing any but Indians.

CHAP. IX.

He from thick films shall purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eye-ball pour the day.

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author commences the Study of Physic with a celebrated Physician and Oculist—A philosophical Detail of the Operation of Couching for the Gutta Serena, by his Preceptor, upon a young Man born blind.

THE next spring I entered upon my studies with a physician, not more justly celebrated for his knowledge of the materia medica, than for his peculiar dexterity and success in couching for the gutta serena, and restoring persons, even born blind, to sight. The account of a cure he performed, after I had been with him about a year, may not be unacceptable to the lovers of natural research. The subject was a young man of twenty-two years of age, of a sweet disposition, amiable manners, and opulent connexions. He was born stone blind. His blindness was in some measure compensated by the attention of his friends, and the increased power of his other organs of perception. His brothers and sisters ex-

riched his mind by reading to him, in succession, two hours every day, from the best authors. His sense of feeling was astonishingly delicate, and his hearing, if possible, more acute. His senses of taste and smelling were not so remarkable. After the customary salutation of shaking hands with a stranger, he would know a person by the touch of the same hand several years after, though absent in the interim. He could read a book or newspaper, newly printed, tolerably well, by tracing, with the tip of his finger, the indents of the types. He acquired a knowledge of the letters of the alphabet early from the prominent letters on the gingerbread alphabets of the baker. He was master of music, and had contrived a board, perforated with many gimblet holes, and with the assistance of a little bag of wooden pegs, shaped at top according to his directions, he could prick almost any tune, upon its being sung to him. When in a large company, who sat silent, he could distinguish how many persons were present, by noting, with his ear, their different manner of breathing. By the rarity or density of the air, not perceivable by those in company, he could distinguish high ground from low; and by the motion of the summer's breeze, too small to move the loftiest leaf, he would pronounce whether he was in a wood or open country.

He was an unfeigned believer in the salutary truths of Christianity. He had imbibed its benevolent spirit. When he spoke of religion, his language was love to God, and good will to man. He was no zealot, but when he talked of the wonders of creation, he was animated with a glow of

enthusiasm. You observed, the other day, as we were walking on this plain, my friend addressing himself to me, as I was intimate in the family, that you knew a certain person by his gait, when at so great a distance that you could not discern his features. From this you took occasion to observe, that you saw the master-hand of the great Creator in the obvious difference that was between man and man : not only the grosser difference between the Indian, the African, the Esquimeaux, and the white man ; but that which distinguishes and defines accurately men of the same nation, and even children of the same parents. You observed, that as all the children of the great family of the earth were compounded of similar members, features, and lineaments, how wonderfully it displayed the skill of the Almighty Artist to model such an infinite variety of beings, and distinctly diversify them, from the same materials. You added, that the incident you had noticed gave fresh instance of admiration ; for you was now convinced that if even all men had been formed of so near resemblance as not to be discerned from each other when at rest, yet when in motion, from their gait, air, and manner, they might readily be distinguished. While you spoke, I could perceive that you pitied me as being blind to a wonderful operation of creative power. I too, in my turn, could triumph. Blind as I am, I have discovered a still minuter, but as certain a distinction between the children of men, which has escaped the touch of your eyes. Bring me five men, perfect strangers to me ; pair the nails of the same finger so as to be even with the fingers' ends ; let me touch,

with the tip of my finger, the nails thus prepared : tell me each person's name as he passes in contact before me ; bring the same persons to me one month afterwards with their nails paired in the same manner, and I will call every one by his right name. For be assured, my friend, that Artist who has denied to me that thing called light, hath opened the eyes of my mind, to know that there is not a greater difference between the African and the European, than what I could discover between the finger-nails of all the men of this world. This experiment he afterwards tried with uniform success. It was amusing, in a gayer hour, to hear him argue the superiority of the touch to the sight. Certainly, the feeling is a nobler sense than that you call sight. I infer it from the care nature has taken of the former, and her disregard to the latter. The eyes are comparatively poor, puny, weak organs. A small blow, a mote, or a straw, may reduce those who see with them to a situation as pitiable as mine, while feeling is diffused over the whole body. Cut off my arm, and a sense of feeling remains. Completely dismember me, and while I live I possess it. It is co-existent with life itself.

The senses of smelling and taste are but modifications of this noble sense, distinguished, through the inaccuracy of men, by other names. The flavour of the most delicious morsel is felt by the tongue ; and, when we smell the aromatic, it is the effluvia of the rose which comes in contact with the olfactory nerves. You that enjoy sight inadvertently confess its inferiority. My brother, honing his penknife the other day, passed it over

his thumb nail to discover if the edge was smooth. I heard him, and inquired why he did not touch it with his eyes, as he did other objects. He confessed that he could not discover the gaps by the sight. Here the superiority of the most inaccurate seat of the feeling was manifest. To conclude, he would archly add—in marriage, the most important concern in life, how many miserable of both sexes, are left to deplore in tears their dependance on this treacherous thing called sight. From this danger I am happily secured, continued he smiling and pressing the hand of his cousin who sat beside him—a beautiful blooming young woman of eighteen, who had been bred with him from childhood, and whose affection for him was such, that she was willing, notwithstanding his blindness, to take him as a partner for life. They expected shortly to be married. Notwithstanding his accuracy and veracity upon subjects he could comprehend, there were many on which he was miserably confused. He called sight the touch of the eyes. He had no adequate idea of colours. White, he supposed, was like the feeling of down; and scarlet he resembled to the sound of martial music. By passing his hands over the porcelain, earthen, or plaster of Paris images, he could readily conceive that they were representations of men or animals. But he could have no idea of pictures. I presented him a large picture of his grandfather, painted with oil-colours on canvass; told him whose resemblance it was: he passed his hand over the smooth surface and mused: he repeated this, exclaimed it was won-

derful, looked melancholy, but never asked for the picture again.

Upon this young man, my preceptor operated successfully. I was present during the whole process, though few were admitted. Upon the introduction of the couching instrument, and the removal of the film from the retina, he appeared confused. When the operation was completed, and he was permitted to look around him, he was violently agitated. The irritability of the ophthalmic muscles faintly expressed the perturbation of his mind. After two-and-twenty years of total darkness, to be thus awakened to a new world of sensation and light, to have such a flood of day poured on his benighted eye-balls, overwhelmed him: the infant sight was too weak for the shock, and he fainted. The doctor immediately intercepted the light with the proper bandages, and, by the application of volatiles, he was revived. The next day the dressings were removed: he had fortified his mind and was more calm. At first he appeared to have lost more than he had gained by being restored to vision. When blind, he could walk tolerably well in places familiar to him. From sight, he collected no ideas of distance. Green was a colour peculiarly agreeable to the new-born sight. Being led to a window, he was charmed with a tree in full verdure, and extended his arms to touch it, though at ten rods distance. To distinguish objects within reach, he would close his eyes, feel for them with his hands, and then look earnestly upon them.

According to a preconcerted plan, the third day his bandages were removed, in the presence of his

parents, brothers, sisters, friends, and of the amiable lovely girl to whom he was shortly to be married. By his request, a profound silence was to be observed, while he endeavoured to discover the person of her who was the object of his dearest affection. It was an interesting scene. The company obeyed his injunction. Not a finger moved, or a breath aspirated. The bandage was then removed ; and when he had recovered from the confusion of the instant effusion of light, he passed his eye hastily over the whole group. His sensations were novel and interesting. It was a moment of importance : for aught he knew, he might find the bosom partner of his future life, the twin soul of his affection, in the fat scullion wench of his father's kitchen, or in the person of the toothless, palsied, decrepit nurse, who held the bason of gruel at his elbow.

In passing his eye a second time over the circle, his attention was arrested by his beloved cousin. The agitations of her lovely features, and the evanescent blush on her cheek, would have at once betrayed her to a more experienced eye. He passed his eye to the next person, and immediately returned it to her. It was a moment big with expectation. Many a finger was raised to the lips of the spectators, and many a look expressive of the silence she should preserve was cast towards her. But the conflict was too violent for her delicate frame. He looked more intensely ; she burst into tears, and spoke. At the well known voice he closed his eyes, rushed towards her, and clasped her in his arms. I envied them their feelings ; but I thought then, and do now, that the

sensations of my preceptor, the skilful humane operator were more enviable. The man who could restore life and usefulness to the darling of his friends, and scatter light in the paths of an amiable young pair, must have known a joy never surpassed ; except, with reverence be it spoken, by the satisfaction of our benevolent Saviour, when, by his miraculous power, he opened the eyes of the actually blind, made the dumb to sing, and the lame and impotent leap for joy.

CHAP. X.

Was Milton blind, who pierc'd the gloom profound
Of lowest Hades thro' seven-fold night
Of shade ; with shade compact, saw the arch fiend
From murky caves, and fathomless abyss,
Collect in close divan his fierce compeers :
Or, with the mental eye, thro' awful clouds,
And darkness thick, unveil'd the throne of him
Whose 'vengeful thunder smote the rebel fiend ?
Was *Sanderson*, who to the seeing crowd
Of wond'ring pupils taught, sightless himself,
The wond'rous structure of the human eye ?

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

Anecdotes of the celebrated Dr. Moyes.

. MENTIONING the subject of the last chapter to the celebrated doctor Moyes, who, though blind, delivered a lecture upon optics, and delineated the properties of light and shade, to the Bostonians in the year 1785, he exhibited a more astonishing illustration of the power of the touch. A highly

polished plane of steel was presented to him, with a stroke of an etching tool so minutely engraved upon it that it was invisible to the naked eye, and only discoverable with a powerful magnifying glass; with his fingers he discovered the extent, and measured the length of the line.

This gentleman lost his sight at three years of age. He informed me, that being overturned in a stage-coach one dark rainy evening in England, when the carriage and four horses were thrown into a ditch, the passengers and driver, with two eyes apiece, were obliged to apply to him who had none for assistance in extricating the horses. As for me, said he, after I had recovered from the astonishment of the fall, and discovered that I had escaped unhurt, I was quite at home in the dark ditch. The inversion of the order of things was amusing. I, that was obliged to be led like a child in the glaring sun, was now directing eight persons to pull here and haul there, with all the dexterity and activity of a man-of-war's boatswain.

CHAP. XI.

None are so surely caught, when they are catch'd,
As Wit turn'd Fool : Folly, in Wisdom hatch'd
Hath Wisdom's warrant, and the help of school;
And Wit's own grace, to grace a learned fool.

SHAKSPEARE

ARGUMENT.

The Author spouteth Greek in a Sea-port—Its Reception among the Polite—He attempteth an Ode in the Style of the Ancients.

I PASSED my time very agreeably with my preceptor; though I could not help being astonished that

a man of his acknowledged learning should not sometimes quote Greek. Of my acquirements in that language I was still proud. I attribute the indifference with which it was received in the town where I had kept school to the rusticity and ignorance of the people. As I now moved in the circles of polished life, I ventured sometimes, when the young ladies had such monstrous colds as that they could not by the earnest persuasions of the company be prevailed on to sing, and when it had been frequently observed that it was quaker meeting, to spout a few lines from the Iliad. It is true they did not interrupt me with—

“Fire upon the mountains ! run, boys, run !”

but the most sonorous lines of the divine blind bard were received with cold approbation of politeness. One young lady alone seemed pleased. She would frequently ask me to repeat those lines of Wabash poetry ; though once, in the sublime passage of the hero Ulysses hanging fifty young maidens with his own hands, in the Odyssey, I heard the term *pendant* pronounced with peculiar emphasis by a beau at my back. If I had taken the hint, and passed my Greek upon my companions for Indian, they would have heard me with rapture. I have since known that worthy indefatigable missionary to the Indians, the reverend Mr. K——, the modern Elliot entertaining the same companies, for whole evenings, with speeches in the aboriginal language of America, as unintelligible to them as was my insulted Greek.

I was so pleased with the young lady who approved the Greek heroics, that I determined to make

my first essay in metre in an ode addressed to her by name. I accordingly mustered all the high sounding epithets of the immortal Grecian bard, and scattered them with profusion through my ode.

I praised her golden locks, and assimilated her to the ox-eyed Juno ; sent her a correct copy, and dispersed a number of others among her friends. I afterwards found, that what I intended as the sublimest panegyric was received as cutting insult. The golden tresses, and the ox-eyed epithet, the most favourite passages in my poem, were very unfortunate ; as the young lady was remarkable for very prominent eyes, which resembled what, in horses are called wall-eyes. Her hair was what is vulgarly called carrotty ; its unfashionable colour she endeavoured in vain to conceal by the daily use of a leaden comb.

CHAP. XII.

Honour's a sacred tie, the law of kings,
The noble mind's distinguished perfection,
Which aids and strengthens virtue where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where she's not.

ADDISON.

ARGUMENT.

The Author in imminent Danger of his Life in a Duel.

THE very next morning after I had presented my ode, and before I had heard of its reception, a young gentleman, very genteelly dressed, entered our drug room, where I was compounding a cathartic

with my spatula ; and, with a very stately air, inquired for Mr. Updike Underhill. Upon being informed that I was the person, with two of the most profound bows I had ever seen, he advanced towards me, and, with slow and solemn emphasis, said, “ Then, sir, I have the honour to present you with a billet from my friend, Mr. Jasper T——,” and bowed twice, as stately and low as before. I took the letter, which was as big as a government packet ; and, in the midst of a large folio sheet, read the following letter, from Mr. Jasper T——, a professed admirer of the young lady to whom I had addressed my ode after the manner of the Greeks.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Them there very extraordinary pare of vases you did yourself the onner to address to a young lada of my partecling acquaintance calls loudly for explination. I shall be happy to do myself the onner of wasting a few charges of powder with you on the morro morning precisely at one half hour before sun rose at the lower end of —— wharf.

“ Dear Sir, I am with grate parsonal esteem your sincere friend, ardent admirer well wisher and umble servant to command,

“ JASPER T——.

“ Please to be punctual to the hour seconds if you incline.

“ *July 24th 1782. Thursday A. M. ante merry dying.*”

Though I was engaged to watch that night with one of my preceptor's customers, yet, as Mr. Jasper T—— seemed so friendly and civil, I could not find it in my heart to refuse him, and replied, that I would, with pleasure, wait upon the gentleman. “Sir,” resumed the bearer, “you are a man of honour, every inch of you, and I am your most obedient, most obsequious, and most humble servant:” and then, making two profound bows in the shop, and one more at the door, he retired. He was no sooner departed, than I sat down to peruse this elegant and very extraordinary billet. I had no particular acquaintance with Mr. Jasper T——, and why he should write to me at all puzzled me. The first part of the letter, I doubted not, contained an approbation of my ode, and a request to be indulged with an explanation of some of its peculiar beauties. I began to recollect illustrations and parodies from some favourite passages in the *Iliad*. But what we were to do in wasting a few charges of powder was utterly inexplicable. At one time, indeed, I thought it an invitation to shoot partridges, and bethought myself of scouring a long-barrelled gun, which had descended like an heirloom in our family; and had perhaps killed Indians on Long Island, in the hands of my brave ancestor, captain John Underhill. Then again I reflected, that the lower end of a wharf, in a populous town, was not the most probable place to spring a covey of partridges. But what puzzled me most was his punctual attention to hours, and even seconds. My doubts were all cleared by the entrance of a fellow student, to whom I communicated the letter. He

was born at Carolina, and understood the whole business. "It is a challenge," said he. A challenge!" exclaimed I. "For what?" "Why only," repeated he coolly, "to fight a duel with Mr. Jasper T—— with sword and pistol." "Pho!" replied I, "you banter. Do look at the conclusion of the letter. Will you make me believe that any man in his senses would conclude with all these expressions of esteem and friendship an invitation to give him an opportunity of cutting my throat, or blowing my brains out?" "You have been bred in yankee land," replied my fellow student. "Men of honour are above the common rules of propriety and common sense. This letter, which is a challenge, bating some little inaccuracies of grammar and spelling, in substance, I assure you, would not disgrace a man of the highest honour; and, if Mr. Jasper T—— acts as much the man of honour on the wharf as he has on paper, he will preserve the same style of good breeding and politeness there also. While, with one hand, he with a deadly longe, passes his sword through your lungs, he will take his hat off with the other, and bow gracefully to your corps." "Lord deliver me from such politeness!" exclaimed I. "It seems to me, by your account of things, that the principal difference between a man of honour and a vulgar murderer is, that the latter will kill you in a rage, while the former will write you complaisant letters, and smile in your face, and bow gracefully while he cuts your throat. Honour or no honour, I am plaguy sorry I accepted his invitation." "Come," continued my fellow student. "you consider this little affair too seriously. I

must instruct you. There is no more danger in these town duels than in pounding our great mortar. Why, I fought three duels myself in Carolina before I was seventeen years old ; and one was for an affront offered to the negro wench who suckled me : and I declare I had rather fight ten more, than pass once, in a stage waggon, over Horse Neck. I see your antagonist has offered you to bring a second. I will go with you. When you arrive on the ground, we seconds shall mark out your position to stand in ; and to be sure, as in case of bloodshed we shall come into difficulty, we shall place you at a pretty respectable distance. You will then turn a copper for the first fire ; but I should advise you to grant it to him. This will give him a vast idea of your firmness and contempt of danger. Your antagonist, with banishment from his country, and the gallows staring him in the face, will be sure not to hit you, on his own account. The ball will pass at least ten rods over your head. You must then discharge your pistol in the air, and offer him to fire again ; as, in the language of the duellist, you will have given him his life, so it will be highly inconsistent in him to again attempt yours. We seconds shall immediately interfere, and pronounce you both men of honour. The matter in controversy will be passed over ; you will shake hands, commence warm friends, and the ladies will adore you. Oh, Updike, you are a lucky fellow !” I cannot think,” said I, “ Why Mr. Jasper T—— should have such bloody designs against me. I never intended to affront the young lady.” “Lisp not a word of that,” replied my instructor, “ as you

value your reputation on 'change. When he has fired over your head, you may confess what you please with honour; but, however inoffensive you may have been, if you make such a confession before, you are a man of no honour. You will be posted in the coffee-house for a coward." Notwithstanding the comfortable address of my friend, the thoughts of a premature death, or being crippled for life, distressed me. Nor was the fear of killing my antagonist, and of what my poor parents would suffer from my being exposed to infamous punishment, less alarming. I passed some hours of dreadful anxiety; when I was relieved from my distress in a way I little apprehended. My challenger, who had lived some years in town as a merchant's clerk, viewing me as a raw lad from the country that would never dare accept his challenge, when his messenger returned was petrified with astonishment. When assured that I had excepted his challenge as a man of courage and honour, his heart died within him. His friend had no sooner gone to prepare the pistols, than, by communicating the business as a great secret to two or three female friends, the intended duel was noised about town. The justices, select-men, and grand-jurors, convened. Warrants were issued, and constables dispatched into all quarters. I was apprehended in the sick man's chamber, where I was watching, by the high-sheriff, two deputies, three constables, and eleven stout assistants; carried, in the dead of the night, before the Magistrates, where I met my antagonist, guarded by a platoon of the militia, with a colonel at their head. We were directed to shake hands, make

friends, and pronounce, on our honours, that we would drop an affair which we had neither of us any heart to pursue. My acceptance of the challenge, however unintentional, established my reputation among the bucks and belles. The former pronounced me a man of spunk and spirit; and the latter were proud of my arm in an evening rural walk on the paved street. None dared to call me pedant; and I verily believe that, if I had spouted a whole Iliad in the ball-room, no one would have ventured to interrupt me; for I had proved myself a *man of honour*.

CHAP. XIII.

The flower of learning, and the bloom of wit.

YOUNG.

ARGUMENT.

The Author is happy in the Acquaintance of a learned Lady.

IN the circle of my acquaintance there was a young lady, of not the most promising person, and of rather a vinegar aspect, who was approximating towards thirty years of age; though, by avoiding married parties, mingling with very young company, dressing airily, shivering in lawn and sarcel at the meeting house in December, affecting a girlish lisp, blush, and giggle, she was still endeavouring to ward off that invidious appellation of old maid. Upon good grounds I am led to believe that the charity of the tea-table had added to her years; because, from a long acquaintance with

her, I could never induce her to remember any event, however trivial, which happened before Lexington battle. The girls of my age respected me as a man of spirit ; but I was more fond of being esteemed as a man of learning. This young lady loved literature, and lamented to me her ignorance of the Greek. I gave her a decided preference to her rivals. She borrowed books of me, and read them with astonishing rapidity. From my own little library, and from those of my friends, I procured about sixty volumes for her ; among which were Locke on Human Understanding, Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, and Glass's works, not on cookery, but the benignant works of John Glass, the father of Sandiman and the Sandimanians ; in my collection, I did not however omit Pope's Homer, and Dryden's Virgil ; and, to my astonishment, though I knew that her afternoons were devoted to the structure of caps and bonnets, she perused those sixty volumes completely, and returned them to me in less than a month. There was one thing peculiarly pleasing to me, as a man of letters, that she never made dog-leaves, or soiled the books ; a slovenly practice, of which even great scholars are sometimes guilty. I would, at times, endeavour to draw her into a conversation upon the authors she had recently perused : she would blush, look down, and say that it did not become a young girl, like her, to talk upon such subjects with a gentleman of my sense. The compliment it contained ever rendered the apology irresistible. One day she asked me to lend her a dictionary. I immediately procured for her the great doctor Johnson's in two volumes folio.

About three days afterwards she offered to return them. Knowing that a dictionary was a work to which reference was often necessary, and thinking it might be of some service, even to a lady of her learning, I pressed her to keep it longer : when she replied, with the prettiest lisp imaginable, that they were indeed very pretty story-books ; but, since I had lent them to her, she had read them all through twice ; and then inquired, with the same gentle lisp, if I could not lend her a book called *Rolling Belly Lettres*. I was in absolute astonishment. Virgil's traveller, treading on the snake in the grass, was comparatively in perfect composure. I took a folio under each arm, and skipped out of the house, as lightly as if I had had nothing heavier than a late antifederal election sermon to carry. This learned young lady was amazingly affronted at my abrupt departure ; but, when the cause of it was explained to her, some months after, she endeavoured to persuade a journeyman tailor, who courted her niece, to challenge me to fight a duel : he actually penned a challenge upon one of his master's pasteboard patterns ; and I verily believe would have sent it by his second, if he had not been informed that my character was established as a man of honour.

CHAP. XIV.

A Babylonish dialect,
Which learned pedants much affect.

HUDIBRAS.

ARGUMENT.

The Author quitteth the Study of Gallantry for that of Physic—He eulogiseth the Greek Tongue, and complimenteth the Professors of Cambridge, Yale, and Dartmouth; and giveth a gentle Hint to careless Readers.

DISGUSTED with the frivolity of the young and the deceit of the antiquated ladies, I now applied myself sedulously to my studies. Cullen, Munroe, Boerhaave, and Hunter, were my constant companions. As I advanced in valuable science, my admiration of the Greek declined. I now found that Machaon and Podalirious, the surgeons of Homer, were mere quacks, ignorant of even the application of plasters, or the eighteen-tailed bandage; and, in botany, inferior to the Indian Powwows; and that the green ointment of my learned friend doctor Kitteridge would have immortalized a bone-setter in the Grecian era, and transmitted him with Esculapius to a seat among the gods. In justice to that venerable language, and to the learned professors of Cambridge, Yale, and Dartmouth, I will candidly confess, that my knowledge of it was now in the first year of my apprenticeship of some service to me, in now and then finding the root of the labels cyphered on our gallipots. I shall mention a little incident which happened about this time, as it contains a lesson valuable to the reader, if he

has penetration enough to discover it, and candour enough to apply it to himself. Though I applied myself closely to my books, yet, as hours of relaxation were recommended by my preceptor, I sometimes indulged in the dance, and in sleighing rides. The latter being once proposed to me, at a time when I was without the means of paying my club, I had retired with discontent to my chamber, where I accidentally cast my eyes upon a little old-fashioned duodecimo Bible, with silver clasps, in the corner of my trunk—a present from my mother at parting, who had recommended the frequent perusal of it, as my guide in difficulty, and consolation in distress. Young people in perplexity always think of home. The Bible reproached me. To remove the uneasy sensation, and for the want of something more agreeable to do, I took up the neglected book. No sooner had I unclasped it, than a guinea dropt from the leaves, which had been deposited there by the generous care of my affectionate mother ; and, by my inexcusable inattention, had lain there undiscovered for more than two years. I hastily snatched the brilliant prize, joined my young companions, and resolved that, in gratitude, I would read a chapter in the Bible every remaining day of my life. This resolution I then persevered in a whole fortnight. Whilst I am on this subject, I will observe, though no zealot, I have since, in the hours of misery and poverty, with which the reader shall be acquainted in the sequel, drawn treasures of support and consolation from that blessed book, more precious than the gems of Golconda, or the gold of Ophir.

CHAP. XV.

————— Well skill'd
 In every virtuous plant and healing herb
 That spreads her verdant leaf to th' morning ray.
 MILTON'S COMUS.

ARGUMENT.

The Author panegyrises his Preceptor.

IN June, 1785, I completed my studies. My enlightened generous preceptor presented me with a Dispensatory, Cullen's First Lines, and an elegant shagreen case of pocket surgical instruments. As it is possible that some friend of his may peruse this work, suffer me to pay him a little tribute of gratitude. He was an unaffected gentleman, and a man of liberal science. In him were united the acute chymist, the accurate botanist, the skilful operator, and profound physician. He possessed all the essence, without the parade of learning. In the most simple language, he would trace the latent disease to its diagnostic ; and, from his lips, subjects the most abstruse were rendered familiar to the unlettered man. Excepting when he was with his pupils, or men of science, I never heard him use a technical term. He observed once, that the bold truth of Paracelsus delighted him, but it partook so much of the speech of our country practitioners, that he was disgusted with the pomposity of Theophrastus Bombastus. He was both an instructor and parent to his pupils--an instructor in all the depth of science he possessed, and a tender parent in directing them in the paths of virtue and usefulness. May he long live to bless his country.

with the healing art ! and may he be hereafter blest himself in that world which will open new sources of intelligence to his inquiring mind !

CHAP. XVI.

The lady Baussiere rode on.

TRISTRAM SHANDY.

ARGUMENT.

Doctor Underhill visiteth Boston, and maketh no Remarks.

HAVING collected some small dues for professional services rendered certain merchants and lawyers' clerks, I concluded to make a short tour to Boston, for the purpose of purchasing a few medical authors and drugs. I carried letters of introduction from my preceptor to the late Dr. Joseph Gardner, and other gentlemen of the faculty. The wit and wine of this worthy man still relish on recollection. The remarks I made upon this hospitable, busy, national, town-born people ; my observations upon their manners, habits, local virtues, customs, and prejudices ; the elocution of their principal clergymen ; with anecdotes of public characters—I deal not in private foibles ; and a comparative view of their manners at the beginning and near the close of the eighteenth century, are pronounced by the partiality of some friends to be original, and, to those who know the town, highly interesting. If this homespun history of private life shall be approved, these remarks

will be published by themselves in a future edition of this work. I quitted Boston with great reluctance, having seventeen invitations to dinner, besides tea-parties, on my hands.

CHAP. XVII.

—————A hornet's sting,
And all the wonders of an insect's wing.

MRS. BARBAULD.

ARGUMENT.

The Author inspects the Museum at Harvard College—Account of the wonderful Curiosities, natural and artificial he saw there.

ON my return, I passed through Cambridge ; and, by the peculiar politeness and urbanity of the then librarian, I inspected the college museum. Here, to my surprise, I found the curiosities of all countries but our own. When I inquired for the natural curiosities of New England, with specimens of the rude arts, arms and antiquities of the original possessors of our soil, I was shown for the former an overgrown gourd shell, which held I do not recollect how many gallons : some of the shavings of the cannon, cast under the inspection of colonel M—— ; a stuffed wild duck, and the curious fungus of a turnip : and for the latter, a miniature birch canoe, containing two or three rag aboriginals with paddles cut from a shingle. This last article, I confess, would not disgrace the baby-house of a child, if he was not above seven years of age. To be more serious, I felt then for the

reputation of the first seminary of our land. Suppose a Raynal or Buffon should visit us, repair to the museum of the university, eagerly inquiring after the natural productions and original antiquities of our country, what must be the sensations of the respectable rulers of the college, to be obliged to produce to them these wretched bauble specimens?

CHAP. XVIII.

Asclepiades boasted that he had articted with Fortune not to be a physician.

RABELAIS.

ARGUMENT.

The Author mounteth his Nag, and setteth out full speed to seek Practice, Fame, and Fortune, as a Country Practitioner.

IN the autumn of 1785 I returned to my parents, who received me with rapture. My father had reared for me a likely pie-bald mare. Our saddler equipped me with horse furniture, not forgetting the little saddle-bags, which I richly replenished with drugs purchased at Boston. With a few books, and my surgeon's instruments in my portmanteau, and a few dollars in my pocket, I sat out, with a light heart, to seek practice, fame, and fortune, as a country practitioner.

My primary object was to obtain a place of settlement. This I imagined an easy task, from my own acquirements and the celebrity of my preceptor. My first stop was at a new township, yet tolerably well stocked with a hardy laborious

set of inhabitants. Five physicians of eminence had within a few years attempted a settlement in this place. The first fell a sacrifice to strong liquor ; the second put his trust in horses, and was ruined by the loss of a valuable sire ; the third quarrelled with the midwife, and was obliged to remove ; the fourth, having prescribed rather un- luckily for a young woman of his acquaintance, grievously afflicted with a tympany, went to the Ohio ; and the last, being a prudent man, who sold his books and instruments for wild land, and raised his own crop of medicine, was actually in the way of making a great fortune ; for, in only ten year's practice, he left at his decease, an estate both real and personal, which was appraised at one hundred pounds, lawful money. This account was not likely to engage the attention of a young man upon whose education twice the sum had been expended.

In the next town I was assured I might do well as a physician, if I would keep a grog-shop, or let myself as a labourer in the hay season, and keep a school in the winter. The first part of the proposition I heard with patience ; but, at the bare mention of a school, I fled the town abruptly. In the neighbouring town they did not want a physician, as an experienced itinerant doctor visited the place every March, when the people had most leisure to be sick and take physic. He practised with great success, especially in slow consumptions, charged very low, and took his pay in any thing and every thing. Besides, he carried a mould with him, to run pewter spoons, and was equally good at mending a kettle and a constitution.

CHAP. XIX.

Here phials in nice discipline are set.
 There gallipots are rang'd in alphabet :
 In this place, magazines of pills you spy ;
 In that, like forage, herbs in bundles lie ;
 While lifted pestles, brandish'd in the air,
 Descend in peals, and civil wars declare.

GARTH.

ARGUMENT.

The Author encountereth Folly, Ignorance, Impudence, Imbecility, and Quacks—The Character of a learned, a cheap, a safe, and a musical Doctor.

At length I fixed my residence in a town where four physicians were already in full practice, of such contrariety in theory, that I never knew any two of them agree in any practice but in abusing me and decrying my skill. It was however four months before I had any practice, except the extracting of a tooth from a corn-fed girl, who spun at my lodgings, and who used to look wistfully at me, and ask, if the doctorer did not think the tooth-ache a sign of love ? and say she felt dreadfully all over : and the application of a young virgin in the neighbourhood, who wished to be favoured with a private lecture upon the virtues of the savin bush. I verily believe I might have remained there to this day unemployed, if my landlord, a tavern keeper, finding my payment for board rather tardy, had not by sometimes sending his boy in violent haste to call me out of meeting, and always vowing I was acute at the

trade, at length drawn the attention of the people towards me.

I had now some opportunity of increasing my information, by inspecting the practice of my seniors. The principal physician had been regularly educated : as I had been so likewise, he affected to pay me some attention on purpose to mortify those three quacks, who, he said, had picked up their knowledge, as they did their medicine, by the way-side. He was a very formal man in manners and practice. He thought fresh air highly noxious in all diseases. I once visited a patient of his, in dog-days, whose parched tongue and acrid skin denoted a violent fever. I was almost suffocated upon entering the room. The windows were closed, and the cracks stuffed with tow ; the curtains were drawn close round the patient's bed, which was covered with a rug, and three comfortable blankets ; a large fire was made in the room ; the door listed, and the key-hole stopped ; while the doctor gravely administered irritating stimulants to allay the fever. He carried a favourite practical author in his bags ; and after finding the patient's case in the index, pulled out a pair of money scales, and with the utmost nicety, weighed off the prescribed dose to the decimal of a dram. He told me, as a great secret, that about thirteen years and one day past, he had nearly destroyed a patient, by administering half a dram of pill cochia more than was prescribed in the books. He was called the learned doctor.

The practice of the second town physician was directly opposite. He prescribed large doses of the most powerful drugs. If he had been inclin-

ed to weigh his medicine, I believe it would have been with gross weight rather than troy. He was an untaught disciple of the English Ratchliffe, careless, daring, and often succesful. He was admirable in nervous cases, rose cancers, and white swellings. Upon the first symptoms of these stubborn disorders, he would drive them, and the subjects of them to a state of quiescence. He was called the cheap doctor ; because he always speedily cured or—killed.

The third physician dealt altogether in simples. The only compound he ever gave, or took, was buttered flip for a cough. It was said, that, if he did no good, he never did any harm. He was called the safe doctor.

The fourth physician was not celebrated for being learned, safe or cheap ; but he had more practice than all the other three together, for he was a musical* man, and well gifted in prayer.

CHAP. XX.

————— Around bright trophies lay,
Probes, saws, incision knives, and tools to slay.

GARTH.

ARGUMENT.

Sketch of an hereditary Doctor and a literary Quack—Critical Operation in Surgery.

THERE was another gentleman in town, who had some pretensions to the character of a physician :

* Do not let guitars and fiddles possess thy brain, gentle reader. Musical, as here used, is synonymous with entertaining or facetious.

even the same pretensions as the crowned heads of Europe have to their wisdom, power, and greatness. He derived it from his birth ; for he was the seventh son of a seventh son, and his mother was a doctress. He did not indeed bear the name or rank, but I number him with the learned ; as he was sometimes called to visit a patient at that critical interesting period, when the other physicians had given him over ; but his ordinary practice lay wholly among sheep, horses, and cattle. He also could boast of astonishing success, and was as proud and opinionated as the best of them ; and, for aught I know, it was as instructive to hear him talk of his ring-bones, wind-galls, and spavins, as to hear our first physician descant upon his paroxysms and peripneumony.

Being sent for one day to attend a man whose leg was said to be broken by a fall from a frame at a raising, I found, upon my arrival at the patient's, that a brother of the faculty, from the vicinity, had arrived before me, and completed the operation. He was celebrated for his skill in desperate cases ; and universally allowed to be a man of learning. He had prescribed a gill of burnt brandy, with a pepper-pod in it, to keep up the patient's spirits under the operation, and took another himself, to keep his hand steady. He splintered the fractured limb with the bone of two pair of old-fashioned stays he had caused to be ript to pieces, and bound round the leg with all the garters in the neighbourhood. He bowed gracefully as I entered, and regretted extremely that he had not my assistance in setting the bones ; and, with a loud voice, and the most unparalleled assurance, began

to lay the case before me, and amplify the operation he had performed. Sir, said he, when I came to view the patient, I had little hopes of saving his life. I found the two lesser bones of the leg, the *musa* and the *tristis*, shivered into a thousand splinters; while the larger bone, the *ambobus*, had happily escaped unhurt. Perceiving I could scarce refrain from laughing, and was about to speak, Sir, said he, winking upon me, I perceive you are one of us men of science, and I wish you to suspend your opinion until a private consultation, lest our conversation may alarm the patient too much, for you know, as the learned Galen observes,

Omne quod exit in *Hum*, seu *Græcum*, sive *Latium*, Esse genus neutrum, sic invariable nomen—

By the way, nurse, these learned languages are apt to make the professors of them very thirsty. While the toddy was making, he proceeded:—When I pondered this perilous, piteous, pertinacious, pestiferous, petrifying case, I immediately thought of the directions of the learned doctors Hudibras and M^r Fingal, not forgetting, as the wound was on the leg, the great Cruikshank's church history. When we had drunk our liquor, of which he took four fifths, by his direction a new mug was made a little stronger, and we retired to our consultation.

I am much obliged to you, said he, for not discovering my ignorance to these people; though it is ten to one if I had not rather convinced the block-heads of yours, if you had attempted it. A regular bred physician, sometime since,

attempted this. He declared, over the sick man's bed, that I was ignorant and presuming. I replied that he was a quack ; and offered to leave our pretensions to knowledge to the company, which consisted of a midwife, two experienced nurses, and some others, not so eminent for learning. He quoted Cullen and Chesselden ; and I Tully and Virgil : until at length, when I had nearly exhausted my stock of cant phrases, and he was gaining the attention of our judges, I luckily bethought me of Lilly's Grammar. I began *Propria quæ Maribus* ; and, before I had got twenty lines, the opinion of the audience was apparently in my favor. They judged naturally enough that I was the most learned man, because the most unintelligible. This raised the doctor's ire so much, that, from disputing with me, he turned to berate them for a parcel of fools, sots, and old women, to put their lives in the hands of such an *ignoramus* as me. This quickly decided the contest in my favour. The old nurses raised their voices, the midwife her broom-stick, and the whole train of mob-capped judges their skinny fists, and we drove him out of the house in triumph. Our victory was so complete, that, in the military style, we did not allow him to remain on the field to bury his dead.

But it is time to tell you who I am. Sir, I drink your health. In brief, sir, I am the son of a respectable clergyman, received a college education, entered into merchandise, failed, and, by a train of misfortunes, was obliged to commence doctor, for sustenance. I settled myself in this back country. At first I was applied to

chiefly in desperate cases ; where no reputation is lost if the patient dies, and much gained if he recovers. I have performed some surprising cures ; but how I cannot tell you, except it was by allowing my patients small beer, or any thing else they hankered after, which I have heard was sometimes efficacious in the crisis of a fever. But talking of drink, sir, I wish your health. I believe I have never injured any persons by my prescriptions, as powdered burnt crust, chalk, and juice of beets and carrots, are my most powerful medicines. We can be of mutual service to each other.—Nurse, another mug.—We doctors find this a very difficult case. As I have borne down these country quacks by superiour effrontery, I can recommend you to full practice. I will call you to consult with me in difficult cases ; for, as I was saying, sir, I wish your good health, mine are all difficult cases ; and you, in return, shall lend me books, and give me such instructions as will enable me to do good, as well as get fame and bread. The proposal was reasonable. I closed with it. He emptied the third mug, and we returned to our patient. When the dressings were removed, I discovered that there was not the slightest fracture of the fibula or tibia ; but only a slight contusion on the patula, which would perhaps not have alarmed any other person but our patient, who was a rich old bachelor. I recommended an emmollient, which my learned brother acquiesced in, saying, with his usual air, that it was the very application he intended, having applied the garters and whalebone

merely to concoct the tristis, the musa, and the ambobus, firmly together.

A young girl, at the door, showed him a wound on her elbow, which she had received in struggling about red ears at a husking; which he gravely pronounced to be a fistula in ano. This gentleman is really a man of abilities; has since made valuable acquirements in the knowledge of the human frame, and the materia medica. If he could be led to substitute the aquatic draughts of doctor Sangrado, as a succedaneum for the diffusible stimuli of Brown, he would become useful in the faculty, and yet see happy days.

The doctor kept his word. He read my books, received my instructions, and recommended me to his patients. But as I copied my preceptor, in the simplicity of my language I never attempted to excite the fear of my patients, to magnify my skill; and could not reduce three fractured bones in a limb which contained but two. My advice was little attended to, except when backed with that of my pupil, accompanied with frequent quotations from Lilly. He obtained all the credit of our success; and the people generally supposed me a young man of moderate talents, whom the learned doctor might make something of in a course of years.

CHAP. XXI.

For man's relief the healing art was given ;
A wise physician is the boon of heaven.

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

A Medical Consultation.

A MERRY incident gave me a perfect insight into the practice of the several physicians I have just eulogised. A drunken jockey, having fallen from his horse at a public review, was taken up senseless, and extended upon the long table of the tavern. He soon recovered his breath, and groaned most piteously. As his head struck the ground first, it was apprehended by some, unacquainted with its solidity, that he had fractured his skull. The faculty hastened from all quarters to his assistance. The learned scrupulous physician, after requesting that the doors and windows might be shut, approached the patient ; and, with a stately air, declined giving his opinion, as he had unfortunately left at home his 'Pringle on Contusions.'

The cheap doctor immediately pronounced the wound a compound fracture, prescribed half a dose of crude opium, and called for the trepanning instruments. The safe doctor proposed brown paper, dipped in rum and cobwebs, to staunch the blood. The popular physician, the musical doctor, told us a jovial story ; and then suddenly relaxing his features, observed, that he viewed the groaning wretch as a monument of justice : that he

who spent his days in tormenting horses should now, by the agency of the same animal, be brought to death's door, an event which he thought, ought to be set home upon our minds by prayer. While my new pupil, pressing through the crowd, begged that he might state the case to the company ; and, with an audible voice, winking upon me began :—The learned doctor Nominativo Hoc Caput, in his treatise on brains, observes, that the seat of the soul may be known from the affections of the man. The residence of a wise man's soul is in his ears ; a glutton's in his palate ; a gallant's in his lips ; an old maid's in her tongue ; a dancer's in his toes ; a drunkard's in his throat :—By the way, landlord, give us a button of sling. When we learned wish to know if a wound endangers life, we consequently inquire into the affections of the patient, and see if the wound injures the seat of his soul : if that escapes, however deep and ghastly the wound, we pronounce life in no danger. A horse-jockey's soul—gentlemen, I wish your healths—is in his heel, under the left spur. When I was pursuing my studies in the hospitals in England, I once saw seventeen horse-jockies, some of whom were noblemen, killed by the fall of a scaffold in Newmarket, and all wounded in the heel. Twenty others, with their arms, backs, and necks broken, survived. I saw one noble jockey, with his *nominativo caret*, which is Greek for a nobleman's head, split entirely open. His brains ran down his face like the white of a broken egg ; but as his heel was unhurt, he survived, and his judgment in horses is said not to be the least impair-

ed. Come, pull off the patient's boot, while I drink his better health. Charmed with the harangue, some of the spectators were about following his directions, when the other doctors interfered. They had heard him with disdainful impatience, and now each raised his voice to support his particular opinion, backed by his adherents. Bring the brown paper—compound fracture—cobwebs I say—hand the trepanning instruments—give us some tod, and pull off the boot, echoed from all quarters. The landlord forbade quarrelling in his house. The whole company rushed out to form a ring on the green for the medical professors; and they to a consultation of fisty-cuffs. The practitioner in sheep, horses, and cattle, poured a dose of urine and molasses down the patient's throat; who soon so happily recovered as to pursue his vocation, swop horses three times, play twenty rubbers of all-fours, and get dead drunk again before sunset.

CHAP. XXII.

To kinder skies, where gentler manners reign,
We turn—————.

GOLDSMITH'S TRAVELLER.

ARGUMENT.

*Disappointed in the North, the Author seeketh
Treasure in the South.*

As my practice increased, my drugs decreased.
At the expiration of eighteen months, I found my

phials, gallipots, and purse, empty ; and my day-book full of items. To present a doctor's bill under seven years, or until my patients died (in which I was not nigh so fortunate as my brother functionaries,) was complete ruin to my future practice. To draw upon my father, who had already done for me beyond his ability, was still worse. I had often heard the southern states spoken of as the high road to fortune. I was told that the inhabitants were immensely opulent, paid high fees with profusion, and were extremely partial to the characteristic industry of their New England brethren. By the advice of our attorney, I lodged my accompt-books in his office, with a general power to collect. He advanced me a sum sufficient to pay my travelling expenses ; and, with my books and surgeon's instruments, I sat out in the stage for the southward, condemning the illiberality and ignorance of our own people, which prevented the due encouragement of genius, and made them the prey of quacks ; intending after a few years of successful practice, to return in my own carriage, and close a life of reputation and independence in my native state.

CHAP. XXIII.

-----One not vers'd in schools,
But strong in sense, and wise without the rules.

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

*Anecdotes of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, whom the
Author visits in Philadelphia.*

I CARRIED a request to the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, then president of the state of Pennsylvania, for certain papers I was to deliver further southward. I anticipated much pleasure from the interview with this truly great man. To see one, who, from small beginnings, by the sole exertion of native genius and indefatigable industry, had raised himself to the pinnacle of politics and letters; a man who, from an humble printer's boy, had elevated himself to be the desirable companion of the great ones of the earth; who, from trundling a wheelbarrow in bye lanes, had been advanced to pass in splendour through the courts of kings; and from hawking vile ballads, to the contracting and signing treaties, which gave peace and independence to three millions of his fellow citizens, was a sight interesting in the extreme.

I found the doctor surrounded by company, most of whom were young people. He received me with the attention due to a young stranger. He dispatched a person for the papers I wanted; asked me politely to be seated; inquired after

the family I sprang from ; and told me a pleasing anecdote of my brave ancestor, captain Underhill. I found in the doctor all that simplicity of language which is remarkable in the fragment of his life, published since his decease, and which was conspicuous in my Medical Preceptor. I have since been in a room a few hours with governor Jay, of New York ; have heard of the late governor Livingston, of New Jersey ; and am now confirmed in the opinion I have suggested, that men of genuine merit, as they possess the essence, need not the parade of great knowledge. A rich man is often plain in his attire ; and the man who has abundant treasures of learning, simple in his manners and style.

The doctor, in early life, was economical from principle ; in his latter days perhaps from habit. Poor Richard held the purse-strings of the president of Pennsylvania. Permit me to illustrate this observation by an anecdote. Soon after I was introduced, an airy thoughtless relation, from a New England state, entered the room. It seems he was on a party of pleasure ; and had been so much involved in it, for three weeks, as not to have paid his respects to his venerable relative. The purpose of his present visit was to solicit the loan of a small sum of money, to enable him to pay his bills, and transport himself home. He preluded his request with a detail of embarrassments which might have befallen the most circumspect. He said that he had loaded a vessel for B— ; and, as he did not deal on credit, had purchased beyond his current cash, and could not

readily procure a draft upon home. The doctor inquiring how much he wanted, he replied, with some hesitation, fifty dollars. The benevolent old gentleman went to his *escritoir*, and counted him out a hundred. He received them with many promises of punctual payment, and hastily took up the writing implements, to draught a note of hand for the cash. The doctor, who saw into the nature of the borrower's embarrassments better than he was aware, and was possessed with the improbability of ever recovering his cash again, stepped across the room, and laying his hand gently upon his cousin's arm, said, "Stop, cousin, we will save the paper; a quarter of a sheet is not of great value, but it is worth saving:"—conveying, at once, a liberal gift and gentle reprimand for the borrower's prevarication and extravagance. Since I am talking of Frankin, the reader may be as unwilling to leave him as I was. Allow me to relate another anecdote. I do not recollect how the conversation was introduced, but a young person in company mentioned his surprise that the possession of great riches should ever be attended with such anxiety and solicitude; and instanced Mr. R— M—, who he said, though in possession of unbounded wealth, yet was as busy and more anxious than the most assiduous clerk in his counting house. The doctor took an apple from a fruit-basket, and presented it to a little child, who could just totter about the room. The child could scarce grasp it in his hand. He then gave it another, which occupied the other hand. Then choosing a third, remarkable for its size and beau-

ty, he presented that also. The child, after many ineffectual attempts to hold the three, dropped the last on the carpet, and burst into tears. See there, said the philosopher; there is a little man with more riches than he can enjoy.

CHAP. XXIV.

St. Stephen's day, that holy morn,
As he to church trudg'd by, sir,
He heard the beagles, heard the horn,
And saw poor puss scud by, sir.

His book he shut, his flock forsook,
And threw aside his gown, sir,
And strode his mare to chase the hare,
And tally ho the hound, sir.

SPORTING SONG.

ARGUMENT.

Religious Exercises in a Southern State.

IN one of the states southward of Philadelphia, I was invited on a Sunday to go to church. I will not say which, as I am loth to offend; and our fashionable fellow citizens, of the south arm of the union, may not think divine service any credit to them. My friend apologised for inviting me to so hum-drum an amusement, by assuring me that immediately after service, there was to be a famous match run for a purse of a thousand dollars, besides private bets, between 'squire L's imported horse Slamerkin, and colonel F's bay mare

Jenny Driver. When we arrived at the church, we found a brilliant collection of well dressed people, anxiously waiting the arrival of the parson—who, it seems, had a small branch of the river M—— to pass ; and, we afterwards learned, was detained by the absence of his negro boy, who was to ferry him over. Soon after, our impatience was relieved by the arrival of the parson in his canonicals—a young man not of the most mortified countenance, who, with a switch called a supple jack in his hand, belaboured the back and head of the faulty slave all the way from the water to the church door, accompanying every stroke with suitable language. He entered the church, and we followed. He ascended the reading-desk, and, with his face glowing with the exercise of his supple jack, began the service with, “ I said I will take heed unto my ways that I sin not with my tongue.—I will keep my tongue as it were with a bridle, when I am before the wicked.—When I mused the fire burned within me, and I spake with my tongue,” &c. &c. He preached an animated discourse, of eleven minutes, upon the practical duties of religion, from these words, “ Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy ;” and read the fourth commandment in the communion. The whole congregation prayed fervently that their hearts might be inclined to keep this holy law. The blessing was pronounced ; and parson and people hastened to the horse race. I found the parson as much respected on the turf as upon the hassock. He was one of the judges of the race ; descanted, in the language of the

turf, upon the points of the two rival horses ; and the sleeve of his cassock was heavily laden with the principal bets. The confidence of his parishioners was not ill founded ; for they assured me, upon oath and honour, that he was a gentleman of as much uprightness as his grace the archbishop of Canterbury. Ay, they would sport him for a sermon or a song against any parson in the union.

The whole of this extraordinary scene was novel to me. A certain staple of New England which I had with me, called conscience, made my situation, in even the passive part I bore in it, so awkward and uneasy, that I could not refrain from observing to my friend my surprise at the parson's conduct, in chastising his servant immediately before divine service. My friend was so happily influenced by the habits of these liberal enlightened people, that he could not even comprehend the tendency of my remark. He supposed it levelled at the impropriety, not of the minister, but the man ; not at the act, but the severity of the chastisement ; and observed, with warmth, that the parson served the villain right ; and that, if he had been his slave, he would have killed the black rascal, if he was sure he should have to pay a hundred guineas to the public treasury for him. —I will note here, that the reader is requested, whenever he meets with quotations of speeches in the above scenes, excepting those during divine service, that he will please, that is, if his habits of life will permit it, to interlard those quotations with about as many oaths as they contain

monosyllables. He may rest assured that it will render the scene 'abundantly more natural. It is true, I might have inserted them myself and supported it by illustrations and parodies from grave authors; but I never swear profanely myself, and I think it almost as bad to oblige my readers to purchase the imprecations of others. I give this hint of the introduction of oaths, for the benefit of my readers to the southward of Philadelphia; who, however they may enjoy a scene which reflects such honour upon their country, when seasoned with these palatable expletives, without them, perhaps, would esteem it as tasteless and vapid as a game of cards or billiards without bets, or boiled veal or turkey without ham.

CHAP. XXV.

Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
Man never is, but always to be, blest.

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

Success of the Doctor's Southern Expedition—He is in Distress—Contemplates a School—Prefers a Surgeon's Birth on board a Ship bound to Africa, via London.

I FOUND the southern states not more engaging to a young practitioner than the northern. In the sea-ports of both, the business was engrossed by

men of established practice and eminence. In the interior country, the people could not distinguish or encourage merit. The gains were small, and tardily collected ; and in both wings of the union, and I believe every where else, fortune and fame are generally to be acquired, in the learned professions, solely by a patient undeviating application to local business.

If dissipation could have afforded pleasure to a mind yearning after professional fame and independence, I might, so long as my money lasted, have been happy at the southward. I was often invited to the turf ; and might have had the honour of being intoxicated frequently with the most respectable characters. An association with the well educated of the other sex was not so readily attained. There was a haughty reserve in the manners of the young ladies. Every attempt at familiarity in a young stranger, habituated to the social but respectable intercourse customary in the northern states, excited alarm. With my New England ideas, I could not help viewing, in the anxious efforts of their parents and relatives to repel every approach to innocent and even chastened intercourse, a strong suspicion of that virtue they were so solicitous to protect.

Depressed by the gloomy view of my prospects, and determined never to face my parents again under circumstances which would be burthensome to them, I attempted to obtain practice in the town of F——, in Virginia ; but in vain. The very decorum, prudence, and economy, which would have enhanced my character at home, were here

construed into poverty of spirit. To obtain medical practice, it was expedient to sport, bet, drink, swear, &c. with my patients. My purse forbad the former ; my habits of life the latter. My cash wasted, and I was near suffering. I was obliged to dispose of my books for present subsistence ; and, in that country, books were not the prime articles of commerce. To avoid starving, I again contemplated keeping a school. In that country, knowledge was viewed as a handicraft trade. The school-masters, before the war, had been usually collected from unfortunate European youth, of some school learning, sold for their passage into America : so that to purchase a school-master and a negro was almost synonymous. Mr. J——n, and some other citizens of the world who had been cast among them, had, by their writings, influence and example, brought the knowledge of letters into some-repute since the revolution ; but I believe those excellent men have yet to lament the general inefficacy of their liberal efforts. This statement, and my own prior experience in school-keeping, would have determined me rather to have preferred labouring with the slaves on their plantations than sustaining the slavery and contempt of a school.

When reduced to my last dollar, and beginning to suffer from the embarrassments of debt, I was invited by a sea captain, who knew my friends, to accept the birth of surgeon in his ship. Every new pursuit has its flattering prospects. I was encouraged by handsome wages, and a privilege in the ship to carry an adventure, for the purchase

of which the owners were to advance me on account of my pay. I was to be companion to the captain, and have a fine chance of seeing the world. To quit my home—for all parts of the union I considered as home—to tempt the perilous ocean, and encounter the severities of a seafaring life, the diseases of torrid climes, and perhaps a total separation from my friends and parents, was melancholy ; but the desire to see the world, to acquire practical knowledge in my profession, to obtain property, added to the necessity of immediate subsistence, and the horrors of a jail, determined me to accept his offer. I accordingly entered surgeon on board the ship *Freedom*, captain Sidney Russell commander, freighted with tobacco bound to London, and thence to the coast of Africa. I had little to do in my passage to London, my destination as a surgeon being principally in the voyage from that city to the African coast, and thence to the West Indies ; and, if I had not suffered from a previous nausea or seasickness, the novelty of the scene would have rendered me tolerably happy. In the perturbation of my thoughts, I had omitted writing to my parents of the places of my destination. This careless omission afterwards caused them and me much trouble. We arrived safely in the Downs.

CHAP. XXVI.

————— Now mark a spot or two,
That so much beauty would do well to purge ;
And show this queen of cities, that so fair,
May yet be foul ; so witty, yet not wise.

COWPER.

ARGUMENT.

London.

THE ship being sold, and another purchased, while the latter was fitting out at Plymouth for her voyage to Africa, I was ordered by the captain to London, to procure our medicine chest and case of surgical instruments. Here a field of boundless remark opened itself to me.

Men of unbourned affluence in plain attire, living within the rules of the most rigid economy ; crowds of no substance strutting in embroidery and lace ; people whose little smoky fire of coals was rendered cheerless by excise, and their daily draughts of beer embittered by taxes ; who administer to the luxury of pensioners and placemen, in every comfort, convenience, or even necessary of life, they partake ; who are entangled by innumerable penal laws, to the breach of which banishment and the gallows are almost universally annexed ; a motley race, in whose mongrel veins runs the blood of all nations, speaking with poin-

ted contempt of the fat burgo-master of Amsterdam, the cheerful French peasant, the hardy tiller of the Swiss cantons, and the independent farmer of America ; rotting in dungeons, languishing wretched lives in fœtid jails, and boasting of the *glorious freedom of Englishmen* : hereditary senators, ignorant and inattentive to the welfare of their country, and unacquainted with the geography of its foreign possessions ; and politicians in coffee-houses, without one foot of soil, or one guinea in their pockets, vaunting with national pride of our victories, our colonies, our minister, our magna-charta, and our constitution. I could not refrain from adopting the language of Dr. Young, and exclaiming in parody—

How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,
How complicate, how wonderful, are Britons !
How passing wonder they who made them such,
Who center'd in their make such strange extremes
Of different nations, marvellously mix'd.
Connexion exquisite of distant climes !
As men, trod worms—as Englishmen, high gods.

 CHAP. XXVII.

Thus has he, and many more of the same breed, that I know the drossy age doats on, only got the tune of the time and outward habit of encounter ; a kind of yesty collection, which carries through and through the most fond and winnowed opinions ; if you blow them to their trial, the bubbles are out.

SHAKSPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author passeth by the Lions in the Tower, and the other Insignia of British Royalty, and seeth a greater Curiosity, called Thomas Paine, Author of the Rights of Man—Description of his Person, Habit, and Manners—In this Chapter due Meed is rendered to a great American Historical Painter, and a prose Monody over our lack of the Fine Arts.

OMITTING the lions in the Tower, the regalia in the jewel office, and the other insignia of British royalty, of which Englishmen are so justly proud, I shall content myself with mentioning the most singular curiosity I saw in London. It was the celebrated Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense," "The Rights of Man," and other writings, whose tendency is to overturn ancient opinions of government and religion.

I met this interesting personage at the lodgings of the son of a late patriotic American governor, whose genius in the fine art of historical painting, whose sortie at Gibraltar, whose flowing drapery, faithful and bold expression in the portraits of our beloved president, and other leaders, both military and political, in our glorious revolution, when the love of the fine arts shall be disseminated in our land, will leave posterity to regret and admire the imbecility of contemporary patronage.

Thomas Paine resembled the great apostle to the Gentiles, not more in his zeal and subtlety of argument, than in personal appearance ; for, like that fervid apostle, his bodily presence was both mean and contemptible. When I saw him, he was dressed in a snuff-colored coat, olive velvet vest, drab breeches, coarse hose. His shoe-buckles of the size of half a dollar. A bob-tailed wig covered that head which worked such mickle woe to courts and kings. If I should attempt to describe it, it would be in the same syle and principle with which the veteran soldier bepraiseth an old standard—the more tattered, the more glorious. It is probable that this was the same identical wig under the shadow of whose curls he wrote “Common Sense” in America many years before. He was a spare man, rather under size, subject to the extreme of low and highly exhilarated spirits, often sat reserved in company, and seldom mingled in common chit-chat. But when a man of sense and elocution was present, and the company numerous, he delighted in advancing the most unaccountable and often the most whimsical para-

doxes, which he defended in his own plausible manner. If encouraged by success, or the applause of the company, his countenance was animated with an expression of feature, which, on ordinary occasions, one would look for in vain in a man so much celebrated for acuteness of thought; but if interrupted by extraneous observation, by the inattention of his auditory, or, in an irritable moment, even by the accidental fall of the poker, he would retire into himself, and no persuasions could induce him to proceed upon the most favourite topic.

CHAP. XXVIII.

He could distinguish and divide
 A hair 'twixt south and south-west side;
 He'd undertake to prove, by force
 Of argument, a man's no horse;
 He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
 And that a *lord may be an owl.*

HUDIBRAS.

ARGUMENT.

Curious Argument between Thomas Paine and the noted Peter Pindar—Peter setteth a Wit-noose, and catcheth Thomas in one of his own Logic Traps.

I HEARD Thomas Paine once assert, in the presence of Dr. Walcot, better known in this country by the facetious name of Peter Pindar, that the minority, in all deliberative bodies, ought

in all cases to govern the majority. Peter smiled. "You must grant me," said *Un-common Sense*, "that the proportion of men of sense, to the ignorant among mankind, is at least as twenty, thirty, or even forty-nine, to a hundred. The majority of mankind are consequently most prone to error; and, if we would achieve right, the minority ought in all cases to govern." Peter continued to smile archly. "If we look to experience," continued Paine, "for there are no conclusions I more prize than those drawn, not from speculation, but plain matter of fact, we shall find an examination into the debates of all deliberative bodies in our favour. To proceed no farther than your country, Dr. Walcot—I love to look at home—suppose the resolutions of the houses of lords and commons had been determined by this salutary rule;—Why, the sensible minority would have governed—George Washington would have been a private citizen, and the United States of Amercia mere colonies dependent on the British crown. As a patriotic Englishman, will you not confess, that this would have been better than to have these United States independent, with the illustrious Washington at their head, by their wisdom confounding the juggling efforts of your ministry to embroil them; and to have the comfortable prospect before you, that, from the extent of their territory, their maritime resource, their natural increase, the asylum they offer to emigrants—in the course of two centuries, Scotland and Ireland, if the United States have not too much real pride to attempt it, may be reduced to the same dependence upon them as your

West-India islands now have upon you ; and even England, haughty England ! thrown in as a make-weight in the future treaty between them and the French nation ?” Peter, who had listened with great seeming attention, now mildly replied. “ I will not say but that your arguments are cogent, though not entirely convincing. As it is a subject rather out of my line, I will, for form sake, hold the negative of your proposition, and leave it to the good company which is right.” “ Agreed ;” said Paine, who saw himself surrounded by his admirers. “ Well, gentlemen,” said Peter, with all the gravity of a speaker of the house of commons, “ you that are of the opinion that the minority, in all deliberative bodies, ought in all cases to govern the majority, please to rise in the affirmative.” Paine immediately stood up himself, and, as he had foreseen, we all rose in his favour. “ Then I rise in the negative,” cried Peter. “ I am the wise minority, who ought in all cases to govern your ignorant majority ; and, consequently, upon your own principles I carry the vote. Let it be recorded.”

This unexpected manœuvre raised a hearty laugh. Paine retired from the presence of triumphant wit, mortified with being foiled at his own weapons.

CHAP. XXIX.

Fierce Robespierre strides o'er the crimson'd scene,
And howls for lamp-posts and the guillotine ;
While wretched Paine, to 'scape the bloody strife,
Damns his mean soul to save his meaner life.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

Reasonable Conjectures upon the Motives which induced Thomas Paine to write that little Book called the "Age of Reason."

IN the frequent interviews I had with this celebrated republican apostle, I never heard him express the least doubt of, or cast the smallest reflection upon, revealed religion. He spake of the glowing expressions of the Jewish prophets with fervour ; and had quoted liberally from the Scriptures in his "Common Sense." How he came to write that unreasonable little pamphlet called *The Age of Reason*, I am at a loss to conjecture. The probable opinion attributes it to his passion for paradox ; or that this small morsel of infidelity was offered as a sacrifice to save his life from the devouring cruelty of Robespierre, that Moloch of the French nation. It probably had its desired effect ; for annihilating revealed religion could not but afford a diabolical pleasure to that ferocious wretch and his inhuman associates, who could not expect

a sanction for their cruelties while the least vestige of any thing sacred remained among men.

When the reign of the terrorists ceased, an apology was expected, and, even by the pious yet catholic American, would have been received. To the offended religion of his country no propitiatory sacrifice was made. This missionary of vice proceeded proselyting. He has added second parts, and made other and audacious adjuncts to deism. No might nor greatness escapes him. He has vilified a great prophet, the saviour of the Gentiles; he has railed at Washington, a saviour of his country. A tasteful though irreligious scholar might tolerate a chastised scepticism, if exhibited by an acute Hume, or an eloquent Bolingbroke. But one cannot repress the irritability of the fiery Hotspur, when one beholds the pillars of morality shaken by the rude shock of this modern Vandal. The reader should learn that his paltry system is only an outrage of wine;* and that it is in the ale-house he most vigorously assaults the authority of the prophets, and laughs most loudly at the Gospel when in his cups.

I have preserved an epigram of Peter Pindar's, written originally in a blank leaf of a copy of Paine's *Age of Reason*, and not inserted in any of his works.

* Mr. Johnson, a respectable bookseller in St. Paul's church-yard, London, has asserted that Mr. Paine's tongue used to flow most freely against revealed religion, when he was most intoxicated with "ale, or viler liquors."

EPIGRAM.

Tommy Paine wrote this book to prove that the
Bible

Was an old woman's dream of fancies most idle ;
That Solomon's proverbs were made by low livers ;
That prophets were fellows who sang semiquavers ;
That religion and miracles all were a jest,
And the *Devil in torment* a tale of the priest.
Tho' Beelzebub's absence from hell I'll maintain,
Yet we all must allow that the DEVIL'S IN PAINE.

CHAP. XXX.

Man hard of heart to man ! of horrid things
Most horrid ! mid stupendous highly strange !

————— Hear it not, ye stars !

And thou, pale moon ! turn paler at the sound :
Man is to man the sorest surest ill !

THE COMPLAINT.

ARGUMENT.

*The Author sails for the Coast of Africa---Man-
ner of purchasing Negro-Slaves.*

ON the 18th of July, 1788, I received orders from my captain to join the ship in the Downs. I accordingly took passage in a post-chaise ; and, after a rapid journey of seventy-four miles, arrived the same afternoon at Deal ; and the next morning entered as surgeon on board the ship *Sympathy*, of three hundred tons and thirty-eight men,

captain Sidney Russell commander, bound to the coast of Africa, thence to Barbadoes and to South-Carolina with a cargo of slaves.

We were favoured with a clear sky and pleasant gales ; after a short and agreeable voyage we touched at Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Isles, where we watered and supplied ourselves with fresh provisions in abundance, to which the captain added, at my request, a quantity of Madeira, malmsey and tent wines, for the sick. We had a fine run from the Madeiras to the Canary Isles. The morning after we sailed I was highly gratified with a full view of the island and peak of Teneriffe ; which made its appearance the day before, rising above the ocean, at one hundred miles distance. We anchored off Fuertaventura, one of the Canaries, in a good bottom. I went on shore with the mate to procure green vegetables ; as I ever esteemed them the best specific for that dreadful sea disorder, the scurvy. Before we had reached the Madeiras, though I had stored our medicine chest with the best antiscorbutics, and we had a plenty of dried vegetables on board, yet the scurvy had begun to infect us. A plentiful distribution of green vegetables, after our arrival at Porto Santo, soon expelled it from the crew. At Fuertaventura I was delighted with the wild notes of the Canary-bird, far surpassing the most excellent of those I had seen in cages in the United States.

I was anxious to visit the Cape de Verd Islands ; but, our course being too far east, we ran down to the little island of Goree, to which the conten-

tions of the English and French crowns have annexed its only importance. The French officers received us with politeness, and were extremely anxious for news from their parent country. Soon after we dropped anchor off Loango city, upon a small well-peopled island near the coast of Congo or Lower Guinea, in possession of the Portuguese. Our captain carried his papers on shore, and the next day weighed anchor and stood in for the continent. All hands were employed to unlade the ship, and the cargo was deposited in a Portuguese factory, at a place called Cacongo, near the mouth of the river Zaire. The day after our arrival at Cacongo, several Portuguese and negro merchants, hardly distinguishable however by their manners, employments, or complexions, came to confer with the captain about the purchase of our cargo of slaves. They contracted to deliver him two hundred and fifty head of slaves in fifteen days' time. To hear these men converse upon the purchase of human beings, with the same indifference, and nearly in the same language, as if they were contracting for so many head of cattle or swine, shocked me exceedingly. But when I suffered my imagination to rove to the habitation of these victims to this infamous cruel commerce, and fancied that I saw the peaceful husbandman dragged from his native farm, the fond husband torn from the embraces of his beloved wife, the mother from her babes, the tender child from the arms of its parent, and all the tender endearing ties of natural and social affection rended by the hand of avaricious violence, my heart sunk within me.

I execrated myself for even the involuntary part I bore in this execrable traffic : I thought of my native land, and blushed. When the captain kindly inquired of me how many slaves I thought my privilege in the ship entitled me to transport for my adventure, I rejected my privilege with horror, and declared I would sooner suffer servitude than purchase a slave. This observation was received in the great cabin with repeated bursts of laughter, and excited many a stroke of coarse ridicule. Captain Russell observed, that he would not insist upon my using my privilege if I had so much of the yankee about me. Here is my clerk, Ned Randolph, will jump at the chance, though the rogue has been rather unlucky in the trade. Out of five-and-twenty negroes he purchased, he never carried but one alive to port, and that poor devil was broken winded ; and he was obliged to sell him for half price in Antigua.

Punctual to the day of the delivery, the contractors appeared, and brought with them about one hundred and fifty negroes—men, women, and children. The men were fastened together in pairs by a bar of iron, with a collar to receive the neck at each extremity ; a long pole was passed over their shoulder, and between each two was bound by a staple and ring, through which the pole was thrust, and thus twenty, and sometimes, thirty were connected together ; while their conductors incessantly applied the scourge to those who loitered, or sought to strangle themselves by lifting their feet from the ground in despair ; which sometimes had been successfully attempted. The women

and children were bound with cords, and driven forward by the whip. When they arrived at the factory the men were unloosed from the poles, but still chained in pairs, and turned into strong cells built for the purpose. The dumb sorrow of some, the phrensy of others, the sobbings and tears of the children, and shrieks of the women, when they were presented to our captain, so affected me, that I was hastening from this scene of barbarity on board the ship, when I was called by the mate, and discovered, to my surprise and horror, that, by my station in the ship, I had a principal and active part of this inhuman transaction imposed upon me. As surgeon, it was my duty to inspect the bodies of the slaves, to see, as the captain expressed himself, that our owners were not shammed off with unsound flesh. In this inspection I was assisted by Randolph the clerk, and two stout sailors. It was transacted with all that unfeeling insolence which wanton barbarity can inflict upon defenceless wretchedness. The man, the affrighted child, the modest matron, and the timid virgin, were alike exposed to this severe scrutiny, equally insulting to humanity and common decency.

I cannot even now reflect on this transaction without shuddering. I have deplored my conduct with tears of anguish; and I pray a merciful God, the common parent of the great family of the universe, who hath made of one flesh and one blood all nations of the earth, that the miseries, the insults, and cruel woundings, I afterwards re-

ceived when a slave myself, may expiate for the inhumanity I was necessitated to exercise towards these MY BRETHREN OF THE HUMAN RACE.

CHAP., XXXI.

Can thus
The image of God, in man created, once
So goodly and erect, though faulty since,
To such unsightly sufferings, be debased
Under inhuman pains?

MILTON.

ARGUMENT.

Treatment of the Slaves on board the Ship.

OF one hundred and fifty Africans, we rejected seventeen as not merchantable. While I was doubting which to lament most—those who were about being precipitated into all the miseries of an American slavery, or those whom we had rejected as too wretched for slaves—captain Russell was congratulating the slave-contractors upon the immense good luck they had in not suffering more by this lot of human creatures. I understood that, what from wounds received by some of these miserable creatures at their capture, or in their violent struggles for liberty, or attempts at suicide, and what with the fatigue of a long journey, partly over the burning sands of a sultry climate, it was usual to estimate the loss in the passage to the sea-shore at twenty-five in a hundred.

No sooner was the purchase completed, than these wretched Africans were transported in herds aboard the ship, and immediately precipitated between decks, where a strong chain, attached to a staple in the lower deck, was rivetted to the bar before described; and then the men were chained in pairs and hand-cuffed, and two sailors with cutlasses guarded every twenty; while the women and children were tied together in pairs with ropes; and obliged to supply the men with provisions and the stush-bucket; or, if the young women were released, it was only to gratify the brutal lust of the sailors: for though I cannot say I ever was witness to an actual rape, yet the frequent shrieks of these forlorn females in the births of the seamen left me little charity to doubt of the repeated commission of that degrading crime. The eve after we had received the slaves on board, all hands were piped on deck, and ordered to assist in manufacturing and knotting cat-o'nine-tails, the application of which, I was informed, was always necessary to bring the slaves to their appetite. The night after they came on board was spent by these wretched people in sobbings, groans, tears, and the most heart-rending bursts of sorrow and despair. The next morning all was still. Surprised by this unexpected silence, I almost hoped that providence, in pity to these her miserable children, had permitted some kindly suffocation to put a period to their anguish. It was neither novel nor unexpected to the ship's crew. It is only the dumb fit come on, cried every one: we will cure them. After breakfast, the whole ship's

crew went between decks, and carried with them the provisions for the slaves, which they one and all refused to eat. A more affecting group of misery was never seen. These injured Africans, preferring death to slavery, or perhaps buoyed above the fear of dissolution by their religion, which taught them to look with an eye of faith to a country beyond the grave, where they should again meet those friends and relatives from whose endearments they had been torn, and where no fiend should torment or Christian thirst for gold, had resolved to starve themselves, and every eye lowered the fixed resolve of this deadly intent. In vain were the men beaten. They refused to taste one mouthful; and I believe, would have died under the operation, if the ingenious cruelty of the clerk, Randolph had not suggested the plan of whipping the women and children in sight of the men; assuring the men they should be tormented until all had eaten. What the torments exercised on the bodies of these brave Africans failed to produce, the feelings of nature effected. The negro, who could undauntedly expire under the anguish of the lash, could not view the agonies of his wife, child, or mother; and though repeatedly encouraged by these female sufferers to persevere unto death, unmoved by their torments, yet, though the *man* dared to die, the *father* relented, and in a few hours they had all eaten their provisions, *mingled with their tears*.

Our slave-dealers being unable to fulfil their contract, unless we tarried three weeks longer, our captain concluded to remove to some other market.

We accordingly weighed anchor, steered for Benin, and anchored in the river Formosa, where we took in one hundred and fifteen more slaves. The same process in the purchase was pursued here ; and though I frequently assured the captain, as a physician, that it was impracticable to stow fifty more persons between decks without endangering health and life, yet the whole hundred and fifteen were thrust, with the rest, between decks. The stagnant confined air of this infernal hole, rendered more deleterious by the stench of the fæces and violent perspiration of such a crowd, occasioned putrid diseases ; and, even while in the mouth of the Formosa, it was usual to throw one or two negro corpses over every day. It was in vain that I remonstrated to the captain. In vain I enforced the necessity of more commodious births, and a more free influx of air for the slaves. In vain I represented that these miserable people had been used to the vegetable diet and pure air of a country life ; that at home they were remarkable for cleanliness of person, the very rites of their religion consisting, almost entirely, in frequent ablutions. The captain was by this time prejudiced against me. He observed that he did not doubt my skill, and would be bound by my advice, as to the health of those on board his ship, when he found I was actuated by the interest of the owners ; but he feared that I was now moved by some *yankee nonsense about humanity*.

Randolph the clerk blamed me in plain terms. He said he had made seven African voyages with as good surgeons as I was ; and that it was their

common practice, when an infectious disorder prevailed among the slaves, to make critical search for all those who had the slightest symptoms of it, or whose habits of body inclined them to it ; to tie them up and cast them over the ship's side together, and thus at one dash to purify the ship. *What signifies*, added he, *the lives of the black devils ? They love to die. You cannot please them better than by chucking them into the water.*

When we stood out to sea, the rolling of the vessel brought on the sea sickness, which encreased the filth : the weather being rough, we were obliged to close some of the ports which ventilated the space between decks, and death raged dreadfully among the slaves. Above two thirds were diseased. It was affecting to observe the ghastly smile on the countenance of the dying African, as if rejoicing to escape the cruelty of his oppressors. I noticed one man, who gathered all his strength, and in one last effort spoke with great emphasis, and expired. I understood by the linguist, that with his dying breath he invited his wife and a boy and girl to follow him quickly, and slake their thirst with him at the cool streams of the fountain of their Great Father, beyond the reach of the wild white beasts. The captain was now alarmed for the success of his voyage ; and, upon my urging the necessity of landing the slaves, he ordered the ship about, and we anchored near an uninhabited part of the Gold Coast—I conjecture, not far from Cape St. Paul.

Tents were erected on the shore, and the sick landed. Under my direction they recovered surprisingly. It was affecting to see the effect gentle usage had upon these hitherto sullen obstinate people. As I had the sole direction of the hospital, they looked on me as the source of this sudden transition from the filth and rigour of the ship to the cleanliness and kindness of the shore. Their gratitude was excessive. When they recovered so far as to walk out, happy was he who could, by picking a few berries, gathering the wild fruits of the country, or doing any menial services, manifest his affection for me. Our linguist has told me, he has often heard them behind the bushes praying to their God for my prosperity, and asking him with earnestness, why he put my good *black* soul into a *white* body. In twelve days all the convalescents were returned to the ship, except five, who staid with me on shore, and were to be taken on board the next day.

CHAP. XXXII.

Chains are the portion of revolted man ;
Stripes and a dungeon.

COWPER.

ARGUMENT.

The Author taken Captive by the Algerines.

NEAR the close of the 14th of November, 1788, as the sun was sinking behind the mountains of

Fundia, I sat at the door of my tent, and perceived our ship, which lay at one mile's distance, getting under way, apparently in great haste. The jolly boat, about ten minutes before, had made towards the shore ; but was recalled by a musket-shot from the ship. Alarmed by this unexpected manœuvre, I ran to the top of a small hill, at the back of the hospital, and plainly discovered a square-rigged vessel in the offing endeavouring to lock our ship within the land ; but a land breeze springing up from the north-east, which did not extend to the strange vessel, and our ship putting out all her light sails, being well provided with ring sail, scudding sails, water sails, and driver, I could perceive she outsailed her. It was soon so dark that I lost sight of both, and I passed a night of extreme anxiety, which was increased by what I conjectured to be flashes of guns in the *south-west* ; though at too great distance for me to hear the reports.

The next morning no vessels were to be seen on the coast, and the ensuing day was spent in a state of dreadful suspense. Although I had provisions enough with me for some weeks, and was sheltered by our tents, yet to be separated from my friends and country, perhaps for ever, and to fall into the hands of the barbarous people which infested this coast, was truly alarming. The five Africans who were with me could not conceal their joy at the departure of the ship. By signs they manifested their affection towards me ; and when I signified to them that the vessel was gone not to return, they clapped their hands, and pointing inland,

signified a desire to convey me to their native country, where they were sure I should be happy. By their consultation, I could see that they were totally ignorant of the way. On the third day, towards evening, to my great joy, I saw a sail approaching the shore, at the prospect of which my African associates manifested every sign of horror. I immediately concluded that no great blame would arise from my not detaining five men in the absence of the ship; and I intimated to them that they might conceal themselves in the brush, and escape. Four quitted me; but one, who made me comprehend that he had a beloved son among the slaves, refused to go, preferring the company of his child, in *slavery* itself, to *freedom* and the land of his nativity. I retired to rest, pleased with the imagination of soon rejoining my friends, and proceeding to my native country. On the morning of the fourth day, as I was sleeping in my tent with the affectionate negro at my feet, I was suddenly awakened by the blowing of conch-shells, and the sound of uncouth voices. I arose to dress myself, when the tent was overset, and I received a blow from the back of a sabre, which levelled me to the earth. I was immediately seized and bound by several men of sallow and fierce demeanour, in strange habits, who spake a language I could not comprehend. With the negro, tents, baggage, and provisions, I was carred to the boat, which being loaded was immediately pushed off from the shore, and rowed towards a vessel, which I now for the first time noticed, and had no doubt but it was the same

which was in pursuit of the Sympathy. She was rigged differently from any I had ever seen, having two masts, a large square main-sail, another of equal size, seized by the middle of a main yard to her fore-mast, and what the sailors call a shoulder of mutton sail abaft ; which with top-sails and two banks of oars, impelled her through the water with amazing velocity : although, for the clumsiness of her rigging, an American seaman would never have pronounced her a good sea-boat. At her main-mast head was a broad black pennant, with a crescent and a drawn sabre in white and red emblazoned in the middle. The sides of the vessel were manned as we approached ; and a tackle being let down, the hook was attached to the cord which bound me, and I was hoisted on board in the twinkling of an eye. Then, being unbound, I was carried upon the quarter-deck, where a man, who appeared to be the captain, glittering in silks, pearl, and gold, sat cross-legged upon a velvet cushion to receive me. He was nearly encircled by a band of men, with monstrous tufts of hair on their upper lips, dressed in habits of the same mode with their leader's, but of coarser contexture, with drawn scimeters in their hands ; and by his side a man of lighter complexion, who, by the captain's command inquired of me in good English if I was an Englishman. I replied I was an American, a citizen of the United States. This was no sooner interpreted to the captain, than, at a disdainful nod of his head, I was again seized, hand-cuffed, and thrust into a dirty hole in the fore-castle, where I lay twenty-

four hours, without straw to sleep on, or any thing to eat or drink. The treatment we gave the unhappy Africans on board the *Sympathy* now came full into my mind ; and, what was more mortifying, I discovered that the negro who was captured with me was at liberty, and fared as well as the sailors on board the vessel. I had not however been confined more than one half-hour, when the interpreter came to examine me privately respecting the destination of the ship, to which he suspected I belonged ; was anxious to know if she had her full cargo of slaves ; what was her force ; whether she had English papers on board ; and if she did not intend to stop at some other African port. From him I learned that I was captured by an Algerine rover, Hamed Hali Saad captain ; and should be carried into slavery at Algiers. After I had lain twenty-four hours in this loathsome place, covered with vermin, parched with thirst, and fainting with hunger, I was startled at a light through the hatchway, which opening softly, a hand presented me a cloth, dripping with cold water, in which a small quantity of boiled rice was wrapped. The door closed again softly, and I was left to enjoy my good fortune in the dark. If Abraham had indeed sent Lazarus to the rich man in torment, it appears to me he could not have received a greater pleasure from the cool water on his tongue than I experienced in sucking the moisture from this cloth. The next day, the same kindly hand appeared again with the same refreshment. I begged to see my benefactor. The door opened further, and I saw a coun-

tenance in tears. It was the face of the grateful African who was taken with me. I was oppressed with gratitude. Is this, exclaimed I, one of those men whom we are taught to vilify as beneath the human species, who brings me sustenance, perhaps at the risk of his life, who shares his morsel with one of those barbarous men who had recently torn him from all he held dear, and whose base companions are now transporting his darling son to a grievous slavery? Grant me, I ejaculated, once more to taste the freedom of my native country, and every moment of my life shall be dedicated to preaching against this detestable commerce. I will fly to our fellow citizens in the southern states; I will on my knees conjure them, in the name of humanity, to abolish a traffic which causes it to bleed in every pore. If they are deaf to the pleadings of nature, I will conjure them for the sake of consistency to cease to deprive their fellow creatures of freedom, which their writers, their orators, representatives, senators, and even their constitutions of government, have declared to be the unalienable birth-right of man.—My sable friend had no occasion to visit me a third time; for I was taken from my confinement, and, after being stripped of the few clothes and the little property I chanced to have about me, a log was fastened to my leg by a chain, and I was permitted to walk the fore-castle of the vessel, with the African and several Spanish and Portuguese prisoners. The treatment of the slaves who plied the oars, the management of the vessel, the order which was observed among this ferocious race,

and some notices of our voyage, might afford observations which would be highly gratifying to my readers, if the limits of this work would permit. I will just observe, however, that the regularity and frequency of their devotion was astonishing to me, who had been taught to consider this people as the most blasphemous infidels. In ten days after I was captured, the rover passed up the Straits of Gibraltar, and I heard the garrison evening gun fired from that formidable rock; and the next morning we hove in sight of the city of Algiers.

CHAP. XXXIII.

There dwell the most forlorn of humun kind
Immured, though unaccused, condemned untried,
Cruelly spared, and hopeless of escape.

COWPER.

ARGUMENT.

The Author is carried into Algiers—Is brought before the Dey—Description of his Person, Court, and Guards—Manner of selecting the Tenth Prisoner.

WE saluted the castle with seven guns, which was returned with three, and then we entered within the immense pier which forms the port. The prisoners, thirty in number, were conveyed to the castle, where they were received with great parade by the Dey's troops or cologlies, and guard-

ed to a heavy strong tower of the castle. The Portuguese prisoners, to which nation the Algerines have the most violent antipathy, were immediately, with every mark of contempt, spurned into a dark dungeon beneath the foundations of the tower, though there were several merchants of eminence and one young nobleman in the number. The Spaniards, whom the Dey's subjects detest as much and fear more, were confined with me in a grated room on the second story. We received the same evening rations similar to what we understood were issued to the garrison. The next day we were all led to a cleansing house, where we were cleared from vermin, our hair cut short, and our beards close shaved; thence taken to a bath, and, after being well bathed, we were clothed in coarse linen drawers, a straight waistcoat of the same without sleeves, and a kind of tunic or loose coat over the whole, which with a pair of leather slippers, and a blue cotton cap, equipped us, as we were informed, to appear in the presence of the Dey, who was to select the tenth prisoner from us in person. The next morning the dragomen or interpreters were very busy in impressing upon us the most profound respect for the Dey's person and power, and teaching us the obeisance necessary to be made in our approaches to this august potentate. Soon after we were paraded, and captain Hamed presented each of us with a paper, written in a base kind of Arabic, describing, as I was informed, our persons, names, country, and conditions in life, so far as our captors could collect from our several examin-

ations. Upon the back of each paper was a mark or number. The same mark was painted upon a flat oval piece of wood, somewhat like a painter's palette, and suspended by a small brass chain, to our necks, hanging upon our breasts. The guards then formed a hollow square. We were blindfolded until we passed the fortifications, and then suffered to view the city and the immense rabble which surrounded us, until we came to the palace of the Dey. Here, after much military parade, the gates were thrown open, and we entered a spacious court-yard, at the upper end of which the Dey was seated upon an eminence, covered with the richest carpeting fringed with gold. A circular canopy of Persian silk was raised over his head, from which were suspended curtains of the richest embroidery, drawn into festoons by silk cords and tassels, enriched with pearls. Over the eminence upon the right and left were canopies, which almost vied in riches with the former, under which stood the mufti, his numerous hadgis, and his principal officers civil and military; and on each side about seven hundred foot-guards were drawn up in the form of a half moon.

The present Dey, Vizier Hassen Bashaw, is about forty years of age, five feet ten inches in height, inclining to corpulency, with a countenance rather comely than commanding; an eye which betrays sagacity rather than inspires awe—the latter is sufficiently inspired by the fierce appearance of his guards, the splendour of his attendants, the grandeur of his court, and the magnificence of his attire. He was arrayed in a

sumptuous Turkish habit. His feet were shod with buskins, bound upon his legs with diamond buttons in loops of pearl ; round his waist was a broad sash glittering with jewels, to which was suspended a broad scymetar, the hilt of which dazzled the eye with brilliants of the first water, and the sheath of which was of the finest velvet, studded with gems and the purest gold. In his scarf were stuck a poignard and pair of pistols of exquisite workmanship. These pistols and poignard were said to have been a present from the late unfortunate Lewis the Sixteenth. The former was of pure gold, and the value of the work was said to exceed that of the precious metal two hundred times. Upon the Dey's head was a turban with the point erect, which is peculiar to the royal family. A large diamond crescent shone conspicuously in the front, on the back of which a socket received the quills of two large ostrich feathers, which waved in graceful majesty over his head. The prisoners were directed by turns to approach the foot of the eminence. When within thirty paces, we were made to throw ourselves upon the earth and creep towards the Dey, licking the dust as a token of reverence and submission. As each captive approached, he was commanded to rise, pull off his slippers, and stand with his face bowed to the ground, and his arms crossed over his breast. The chieux or secretary then took the paper he carried, and read the same. To some the Dey put questions by his dragoman ; others were dismissed by a slight nod of his head. After some consultation among the chief men, an

officer came to where the prisoners were paraded, and called for three by the number which was marked on their breasts. The Dey's prerogative gives him the right to select the tenth of all prisoners ; and, as the service or ransom of them constitutes one part of his revenue, his policy is to choose those whose friends or wealth would be most likely to enrich his coffers. At this time he selected two wealthy Portuguese merchants, and a young nobleman of the same nation, called Don Juan Combri. Immediately after this selection, we were carried to a strong house or rather prison in the city, and there guarded by an officer and some of the crew of the Rover that had taken us. The remainder of us being considered as private property, another selection was made by the captain and owners of the Rover ; and all such as could probably pay their ransom in a short time were removed into a place of safety, and suffered only a close confinement. The remnant of my companions, being only eleven, consisted of the negro slave, five Portuguese, two Spanish sailors, an Italian fiddler, a Dutchman from the Cape of Good Hope, and his Hottentot servant. As we could proffer no probability of ransom, we were reserved for another fate.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Despoiled of all the honours of the free,
The beaming dignities of man eclipsed,
Degraded to a beast, and basely sold
In open shambles, like the stalled ox.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems.*

ARGUMENT.

The Slave Market.

ON the next market day we were stripped of the dress in which we appeared at court. A napkin was wrapped round our loins, and a coarse cloak thrown over our shoulders. We were then exposed for sale in the market-place, which was a spacious square, inclosed by ranges of low shops, in different sections of which were exposed the various articles intended for sale. One section was gay with flowers; another exposed all the fruits of the season—grapes, dates, pomegranates, and oranges, lay in tempting baskets; a third was devoted to sallads and pot herbs; a fourth to milk and cream. Between every section was a small room, where those who come to market might occasionally refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco, a cud of opium, a glass of sherbet, or other cooling liquors. Sherbet is composed of lemons, oranges, sugar, and water—it is what we in New England call beverage. In the centre of the market an oblong square was railed in, where the dealers in beasts and slaves exposed their commodities

for sale : here were camels, mules, asses, goats, hares, dromedaries, women and men, and all other creatures whether for appetite or use ; and I observed that the purchasers turned from one article to the other with equal indifference. The women slaves were concealed in a latticed shop, but the men were exposed in open view in a stall situated between those appropriated to the asses and to the kumrah, a wretched looking though serviceable animal in that country, propagated by a jack upon a cow. I now discovered the reason of the alteration in our dress ; for, as the people here no more than in New England love to buy *a pig in the poke*, our loose coats were easily thrown open, and the purchaser had an opportunity of examining into the state of our bodies. It was astonishing to observe how critically they examined my muscles, to see if I was naturally strong ; moved my limbs in various directions, to detect any latent lameness or injury in the parts ; and struck suddenly before my eyes, to judge by my winking if I was clear sighted. Though I could not understand their language, I doubt not they spoke of my activity, strength, age, &c. in the same manner as we at home talk in the swop of a horse. One old man was very critical in his examination of me. He made me walk, run, lie down, and lift a weight of about sixty pounds. He went out and soon returned with another man. They conferred together, and the second was more critical in his examination than the first. He obliged me to run a few rods, and then laid his hand suddenly to my heart, to see, as I conjecture,

if my wind was good. By the old man I was purchased. What the price given for me was I cannot tell. An officer of the market attested the contract, and I was obliged by the master of the shop, who sold me upon commission for the benefit of the persons concerned in the Rover, to lie down in the street, take the foot of my new master, and place it upon my neck—making to him what the lawyers call attornment. I was then seized by two slaves, and led to the house of my new master.

Perhaps the free citizen of the United States may, in the warmth of his patriotism, accuse me of a tameness of spirit in submitting to such gross disgrace. I will not justify myself. Perhaps I ought to have asserted the dignity of our nation, in despite of bastinadoes, chains, or even death itself. Charles the Twelfth of Sweden has however been stigmatised by the historian as a madman, for opposing the insulting Turk, when a prisoner, though assisted by nearly two hundred brave men. If any of my dear countrymen censure my want of due spirit, I have only to wish him in my situation at Algiers, that he may avail himself of a noble opportunity of suffering gloriously for his country.

CHAP. XXXV.

——— True ! I talk of dreams,
Which are the children of an idle brain,
Begot of nothing but vain phantasy,
Which is as thin of substance as the air,
And more inconstant than the wind—

——— Who woos
Even now the frozen bosom of the north,
And being anger'd, puffs away from thence,
Turning his face to the dew-dropping south.
SHAKSPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author Dreameth whilst Awake.

THE higher his rank in society, the further is man removed from nature. Grandeur draws a circle round the great, and often excludes from them the finer feelings of the heart: the wretched are all of one family, and ever regard each other as brethren. Among the slaves of my new master I was received with pity, and treated with tenderness, bordering upon fraternal affection. They could not indeed speak my language, and I was ignorant of theirs; but by dividing the scanty meal, composing my couch of straw, and alleviating my more rugged labours, they spake that universal language of benevolence which needs no linguist to interpret.

It is true I did not meet among my fellow slaves the rich and the noble, as the dramatist and the novelist had taught me to expect. To betray a

weakness, I will confess that some time after I was captured I often suffered fancy to cheat me of my "weary moments," by pourtraying those scenes which had often amused me in my closet, and delighted me on the stage. Sometimes I even contemplated with pleasure the company and converse of my fellow slaves. I expected to find them men of rank at least, if not of learning. I fancied my master's cook an English lord ; his valet an Italian duke ; his groom a knight of Malta ; and even his foot-boy some little lively French marquis. I fancied my future master's head gardener taking me one side, professing the warmest friendship, and telling me in confidence that he was a Spanish Don with forty noble names ; that he had fallen in love with my master's fair daughter, whose mother was a Christian slave : that the young lady was equally charmed with him ; that she was to rob her father of a rich casket of jewels, there being no dishonour in stealing from an infidel ; jump into his arms in boy's clothes that very night, and escape by a vessel already provided to his native country. I saw in imagination all this accomplished. I saw the lady descend the rope-ladder ; heard the old man and his servants pursue ; saw the lady carried off breathless in the arms of her knight ; arrive safe in Spain ; was present at the lady's baptism into the catholic church, and at her marriage with her noble deliverer. I was myself almost stifled with the caresses of the noble family, for the part I had borne in this perilous adventure ; and in fine married to Donna somebody, the Don's beautiful

sister ; returned into my own country loaded with beauty and riches ; and perhaps was aroused from my reverie by a poor fellow slave, whose extreme ignorance had almost blunted the sensibility of his own wretchedness.

Indeed, so sweet were the delusions of my own fancy, I am loth to destroy the innocent gratification which the readers of novels and plays enjoy from the works of a Behn and a Colman ; but the sober character of a historian compels me to assure my readers, that, whatever may have happened in the sixteenth century, I never saw during my captivity a man of any rank, family, or fortune, among the menial slaves, the Dey, as I have already observed, selecting his tenth prisoner from those who would most probably afford the richest ransom : those concerned in the captures are influenced by the same motive. All who may be expected to be ransomed are deprived of their liberty it is true ; but fed, clothed, and never put to manual labour, except as a punishment for some actual crime, or attempting to recover their liberty. The menial slaves are generally composed of the dregs of those nations with whom they are at war ; but, though my fellow slaves were grossly illiterate, I must do them the justice to say they had learned well the kinder virtues : those virtues which schools and colleges often fail to teach, which, as Aristotle well observes, are like a flame of fire—light them up in whatever climate you will, they burn and shine ever the same.

CHAP. XXXVI.

One day (may that returning day be night,
The stain, the curse, of each succeeding year !)
For something or for nothing in his pride
He struck me :—while I tell it do I live !

YOUNG'S REVENGE.

ARGUMENT.

*Account of my Master Abdel Melic—Description
of his House, Wife, Country-house, and severe
Treatment of his slaves.*

THE name of my master was Abdel Melic. He had been formerly an officer in the Dey's troops, and it was said, had rendered the Dey's father some important service in an insurrection, and was therefore highly respected ; though at that time he had no public employment. He was an austere man ; his natural severity being probably increased by his employment as a military officer. I never saw the face of any person in his family, except the male slaves. The houses of the Algerines are nearly all upon the same model, consisting of a building towards the street of one or two stories, which is occupied by the master and male domestics, and which is connected by a gallery upon the ground, if the house be of one story ; if of two, the entrance is above stairs to a building of nearly the same size behind, which has no windows or lattices at the side, but looks into a garden, which is always surrounded by a high wall.

In these back apartments the women are lodged, both wives and slaves. My master had a wife, the daughter of a principle officer in the Dey's court, and to my surprise had only one. I found it to be a vulgar error that the Algerines had generally more. It is true they are allowed four by their law ; but they generally find, as in our country, one lady sufficient for all the comforts of connubial life, and never take another, except family alliance or barrenness renders it eligible or necessary. The more I became acquainted with their customs, the more was I struck with their great resemblance to the patriarchal manners described in Holy Writ. Concubinage is allowed ; but few respectable people practise it, except for the sake of heirs. With the Algerines the barrenness of RACHEL is sometimes compensated to the husband by the fertility of a BILHAH. After I had lived in this town-house about three weeks, during which time I was clothed after the fashion of the country, my master moved with his whole family to a country-house on the river Saffran. Our journey, which was about twelve miles, was performed in the evening : two carriages resembling our travelling waggons contained the women—only that the bodies of them were latticed, and furnished with curtains to cover them in the day time, which were rolled up in the evening ; two slaves preceded the carriages ; Abdel Melic followed on horseback, and I accompanied a baggage-waggon in the rear. When we arrived at the country-house, the garden gates were thrown open, and the carriages with the women entered. The men were introduced to

the front apartments. I found here several more slaves, equally ignorant and equally attentive and kind towards me as those I had seen in the town. The next day we were all set to work in digging for the foundation of a new wall, which was to enlarge our master's gardens. The weather was sultry. The soil below the surface was almost a quicksand. I, unused to hard labour, found my strength soon exhausted. My fellow slaves, compassionating my distress, were anxious, by changing places with me, to render my share of the labour less toilsome. As we had our stint for the whole party staked out to us every morning, it was in the power of my kind fellow labourers to favour me much. Often would they request me by signs to repose myself in the shade, while they encouraged each other to perform my share of the task. After a while our master came to inspect the work; and conceiving that it did not advance as fast as he wished, he put an overseer over us, who, finding me not so active as the rest, first threatened and then struck me with his whip. This was the first disgraceful blow I had ever received. Judge you, my gallant freeborn fellow citizens, you who rejoice daily in our federal strength and independence, what were my sensations! I threw down my spade with disdain, and retired from my work, lowering indignation upon my insulting oppressor. Upon his lifting his whip to strike me again, I flew at him, collared him, and threw him on his back. Then setting my foot on his breast, I called upon my fellow slaves to assist me to bind the wretch, and to make one glorious effort for our

freedom. But I called in vain. They could not comprehend my language; and if they could, I spoke to slaves, astonished at my presumption, and dreading the consequences for me and themselves. After their first astonishment, they ran and took me gently off from the overseer, and raised him with the greatest respect. No sooner was he upon his feet, than, mad with rage, he took up a mat-toc, and with a violent blow upon my head levelled me to the ground. I lay senseless, and was awakened from my stupor by the severe lashes of his whip, with which the dastardly wretch continued to beat me until his strength failed. I was then left to the care of my fellow slaves, who could only wash my wounds with their tears. Complaint was immediately made to my master, and I was sent to work in a stone quarry about two miles from the house. At first I rejoiced in escaping the malice of this merciless overseer, but soon found I had made no advantageous exchange. I was surrounded by the most miserable objects. My fellow labourers had been put to this place as a punishment for domestic crimes, or for their superiour strength, and all were obliged to labour equally hard. To break hard rocks with heavy mauls, to transport large stones upon our backs up the craggy sides of the quarry, were our common labours; and to drink water, which would have been delicious if cold, and to eat black barley bread and onions, our daily fare; while the few hours allotted to rest upon our flinty beds were disturbed by the tormenting insects, or on my part by the more tormenting dreams of the dainties of my father's house.

There is a spring under a rock upon my father's farm which we called the cold spring, from which we used to supply our family with water, and prided ourselves in presenting it as a refreshing beverage in summer to our visitors. How often, after working beyond my strength on a sultry African day in that horrid quarry, have I dreamt of dipping my cup in that cold spring, and fancied the waters eluding my taste as I raised it to my lips. Being presented with a tumbler filled from this spring, after my return, in a large circle of friends, the agonies I had suffered came so forcibly into my recollection, that I could not drink the water, but had the weakness to melt into tears.

How naturally did the emaciated prodigal in the Scripture think upon the bread in his father's house. Bountiful Father of the Universe, how are the common blessings of thy providence despised! When I ate of the bread of my father's house, and drank of his refreshing spring, no grateful return was made to him or thee. It was amidst the parched sands and flinty rocks of Africa that thou taughtest me, that the bread was indeed pleasant, and the water sweet. Let those of our fellow citizens, who set at nought the rich blessings of our federal union, go like me to a land of slavery, and they will then learn how to appreciate the value of our free government.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Christian is the highest style of man :
 And is there who the blessed cross wipes off
 As a foul blot from his dishonour'd brow ?
 If angels tremble, 'tis at such a sight :
 The wretch they quit, desponding of their charge,
 More struck with grief or wonder, who can tell ?
 YOUNG.

ARGUMENT.

The Author is encountered by a Renegado--Struggles between Faith, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil.

As I was drooping under my daily task, I saw a young man habited in the Turkish dress, whose clear skin and florid cheek convinced me he was not a native of the country ; whose mild air and manners betrayed nothing of the ferocity of the renegado. The style of his turban pronounced him a Mahometan ; but the look of pity he cast towards the Christian slaves was entirely inconsistent with the pious *hauteur* of the mussulman--for Christian dog is expressed as strongly by the features as the tongue of him they call a true believer. He arrested my attention. For a moment I suspended my labour. At the same moment an unmerciful lash from the whip of the slave-driver recalled my attention to my work, and excited his who was the cause of my neglect. At his approach the slave-driver quitted me. The stranger accosted me, and in good English commiserated

ted my distresses, which he said, he should deplore the more if they were remediless. When a man is degraded to the most abject slavery, lost to his friends, neglected by his country, and can anticipate no rest but in the grave, is not his situation remediless? I replied. Renounce the Christian, and embrace the Mahometan faith, you are no longer a slave, and the delights of life await you, retorted he. You see me. I am an Englishman. For three years after my captivity, like you I groaned under the lash of the slave-driver; I ate the scanty morsel of bitterness, moistened with my tears. Borne down by the complicated ills of hunger and severe labour, I was carried to the infirmary for slaves, to breath my last, where I was visited by a mollah, or Mahometan priest. He pitied the misfortunes of a wretch who, he said, had suffered a cruel existence in this life, and had no rational hopes of exchanging it for a better. He opened the great truths of the mussulman faith. By his assistance I recovered my health, and was received among the faithful. Embraced and protected by the rich and powerful, I have now a house in the city, a country residence on the Saffran, two beautiful wives, a train of domestics; and a respectable place in the Dey's customs defrays the expense. Come, added he, let me send my friend the mollah to you. He will remove your scruples, and in a few days you will be as free and happy as I am. I looked at him with astonishment. I had ever viewed the character of an apostate as odious and detestable. I turned from him with abhorrence, and for once embra-

ced my burthen with pleasure. Indeed I pity you, said he. I sorrow for your distresses and pity your prejudices. I pity you too, replied I, the tears standing in my eyes. My body is in slavery, but my mind is free. Your body is at liberty, but your soul is in the most abject slavery, in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. You have sold your God for filthy lucre; and "what shall it profit you if you gain the whole world and lose your own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" I respect your prejudices, said the stranger, because I have been subject to them myself. I was born in Birmingham in England, and educated a rigid dissenter. No man is more subject to prejudice than an Englishman, and no sectary more obstinately attached to his tenets than the dissenter. But I have conversed with the mollah, and I am convinced of the errors of my education. Converse with him likewise. If he does not convince you, you may glory in the Christian faith, as that faith will be then founded on rational preference, and not merely on your ignorance of any other religious system. Suggest the least desire to converse with the mollah, and an order from the mufti will come to your master. You will be clothed and fed at the public expence; be lodged one month in the college of the priest; and not returned to your labours, until the priest shall declare you incorrigible. He then left me. The heat increased, and my strength wasted. The prospect of some alleviation from labour, and perhaps a curiosity to hear what could be said in favour of so detestably ridiculous a system

as the Mahometan imposture, induced me, when I saw the Englishman again, to signify my consent to converse with the mollah.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Hear I, or dream I hear, that distant strain,
Sweet to the soul and tasting strong of Heaven,
Soft wafted on celestial pity's plume?

ANON.

ARGUMENT.

The Author is carried to the Sacred College of the Mussulman Priest—The Mortifications and Austerities of the Mahometan Recluse—The Mussulman Mode of Proselyting.

THE next day an order came from the mufti to my master, who receiving it touched his forehead with the testa respectfully, and directed me to be instantly delivered to the mollah. I was carried to the college—a large gloomy building on the outside, but within the walls an earthly paradise. The stately rooms, refreshing baths, cooling fountains, luxuriant gardens, ample larders, rich carpets, downy sofas, and silken mattresses, offered with profusion all those soft excitements to indolent pleasure which the most refined voluptuary could desire. I have often observed, that, in all countries, except New England, those whose profession it is to decry the luxuries and vanities of this

world some how or other contrive to possess the greatest portion of them.

Immediately upon my entering these sacred walls I was carried to a warm bath, into which I was immediately plunged ; while my attendants, as if emulous to cleanse me from all the filth of error, rubbed me so hard with their hands and flesh-brushes, that I verily thought they would have flayed me. While I was still in a state of relaxation from the use of the warm bath, I was suddenly plunged into a contiguous cold one. I confess I apprehended dangerous consequences from so sudden a check of such violent perspiration ; but I arose from the cold bath highly invigorated.* I was then anointed, in all the parts of my body which had been exposed to the sun, with a preparation of gum, called the balm of Mecca. This application excited a very uneasy sensation, similar to the stroke of the water-pepper, to which “ the liberal shepherds give a grosser name.” In twenty-four hours the sun-browned

* The Indian of North America surprised the European physician by a process founded on similar principles. The patient, in the most violent fever, was confined in a low hut, built of turf and flat stones, which had been previously heated by fire. When the profusest perspiration was thus excited, the patient was carried, and often, with Indian fortitude, ran, to the next stream, and plunged frequently through the ice into the coldest water. This process, which Boerhaave and Sydenham would have pronounced deleterious, ever produced pristine health and vigour, when prescribed by the Indian physician, or pow-wow.

cuticle peeled off, and left my face, hands, legs, and neck, as fair as a child's of six months old. This balm the Algerine ladies procure at a great expense, and use it as a cosmetic to heighten their beauty.

After I had been clothed in the drawers, slippers, loose coat, and shirt of the country, if shirt it could be called, which neck had none; my hands and feet were tinged yellow, with a decoction of the herb henna; which colour, they said denoted purity of intention. I was lodged and fed well, and suffered to amuse myself and recover my health of body and mind. On the eleventh day, as I was reclining on the margin of a retired fountain, reflected on my dearnative country, I was joined by the mollah. He was a man of about thirty years of age, of the most pleasing countenance and engaging deportment. He was born at Antioch, and educated a Christian of the Greek church. He was designed by his parents for a preferment in that church, when he was captured by the Algerines, and almost immediately conformed to the mussulman faith; and was in high esteem in the sacred college of the priests. As he spoke Latin and some modern languages fluently, was well versed in the Bible and Christian doctrines, he was often employed in proselyting the European slaves, and prided himself in his frequent success.

He accosted me with the sweetest modulation of voice; kindly inquired after my welfare; begged to know if my lodging, dress, and fare, were agreeable; assuring me that if I wished to alter

either, in such a manner as to bring them nearer to the fare and modes of my native country, and would give my directions, they should be obeyed. He requested me to appoint a time when we might converse upon the great subject of religion. He observed that he wished me free from bodily indisposition, and that the powers of my mind would recover their activity. He said the holy faith he offered to my embraces disdained the use of other powers than rational argument ; that he left to the church of Rome and its merciless inquisitors all the honour and profit of conversion by faggots, dungeons, and racks. He made some further inquiry as to my usage in the college, and retired. I had been so long accustomed to the insolence of domestic tyranny ; so often groaned under the whip and burthen ; so often been buffeted, spurned, and spit upon, that I had steeled my mind against the force and terror I anticipated from the mollah ; but was totally unprepared for such apparent candour and gentleness. Though I viewed his conduct as insidious, yet he no sooner retired, than, overcome by his suavity of manners, for the first time I trembled for my faith, and burst into tears.

CHAP. XXXIX.

—————But pardon, gentles all,
 The flat unraised spirit that hath dared,
 On this unworthy scaffold, to bring forth
 So great an object.

SHAKSPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author confereth with a Mollah, or Mahometan Priest—Defendeth the Verity of the Christian Creed, and resigns his Body to Slavery, to preserve the Freedom of his Mind.

UPON the margin of a refreshing fountain, shadowed by the fragrant branches of the orange, date, and pomegranate, for five successive days I maintained the sacred truths of our holy religion against the insidious attack of the mussulman priest. To be more perspicuous, I have condensed our conversation, and, to avoid useless repetition, have assumed the manner of a dialogue.

Mollah. Born in New England, my friend, you are a Christian purified by Calvin. Born in the Campania of Rome, you had been a papist. Nursed by the Hindoos, you would have entered the pagoda with reverence, and worshipped the soul of your ancestor in a duck. Educated on the bank of the Wolga, the Delia Lama had been your god. In China you would have worshipped Tien and perfumed Confucius, as you bowed in adoration before the tablets of your ancestors. Cradled with

the Parsees of Indostan, you had adored fire, and trembled with pious awe as you presented your rice and your ghee to the adorable cock and dog.

A wise man adheres not to his religion because it was that of his ancestors. He will examine the creeds of other nations, compare them with his own, and hold fast that which is right.

Author. You speak well. I will bring my religion to the test. Compare it with the—the—

Mollah. Speak out boldly. No advantage shall be taken. You would say with the Mahometan imposture. To determine which of two revealed religions is best, two inquiries are alone necessary. First, which of them has the highest proof of its divine origin? and which inculcates the purest morals? that is, of which have we the greatest certainty that it came from God? and which is calculated to do most good to mankind?

Author. True. As to the first point, our Bible was written by men divinely inspired.

Mollah. Our Alcoran was written by the finger of the Deity himself. But who told you your Bible was written by men divinely inspired?

Author. We have received it from our ancestors; and we have as good evidence for the truths it contains, as we have in profane history for any historical fact.

Mollah. And so have we for the Alcoran. Our sacred and profane writers all prove the existence of such a prophet as Mahomet, that he received the sacred volume from the hand of Gabriel, and the traditions of our ancestors confirm our faith.

Author. We know that the Christian religion is true, from its small beginnings and wonderful increase. None but the Deity himself could have enabled a few illiterate fishermen to spread a religion over the world, and perpetuate it to posterity.

Mollah. Your argument I allow to be forcible, but grant us also the use of it. Mahomet was an illiterate camel-driver. Could he, who could not read or write, have published a book, which for its excellence has astonished the world? Would the learned of Medina and Mecca have become his disciples? Could Omer and Abubeker, his successors, men equally illiterate have become the admiration of the world? If you argue from the astonishing spread of your faith, view our prophet, born five hundred and sixty nine years, and dating the promulgation of his doctrine six hundred and twenty years, after the birth of your prophet. See the extensive countries of Persia, Arabia, Syria Egypt, all rejoicing in its benign influence. See our holy faith pouring its divine rays of light into Russia and Tartary. See it received by enlightened Greece, raising its crescent through the vast Turkish empire and the African states. See Palestine and Jerusalem, the birth place of your prophet, filled with the disciples of ours. See Asia and Africa, and a great part of Europe, acknowledging the unity of God, and the mission of his prophet. In a word, view the world. See two Mahometans, men professing a religion, which arose six hundred and twenty years after yours, to one Christian, computing Christians of all denominations, and then give your argument

of the miraculous spread of religion its due weight.

My blood boiled to hear this infidel vaunt himself thus triumphantly against my faith ; and, if it had not been for a prudence which in hours of zeal I have since had cause to lament, I should have taken vengeance of him upon the spot. I restrained my anger, and observed that our religion is supported by miracles.

Mollah. So is ours ; which is the more remarkable, because our great prophet declared he was not sent into the world to work miracles, but to preach the unity of the first cause, the resurrection of the dead, the bliss of paradise, and the torments of the damned. Yet his whole life was a miracle. He was no sooner born, than, with a voice like the thundering of Hermon, he pronounced the adorable creed to his mother and nurses : *I profess that there is only one God, and that I am his apostle.* He was circumcised from all eternity : and besides, at the same hour, a voice of four mighty angels was heard proclaiming from the four corners of the holy house ; the first saying, ‘ Proclaim the truth is risen, and all lies shall return into hell ;’ the second uttering, ‘ Now is born an apostle of your own nation, and the Omnipotent is with him ;’ the words of the third were, ‘ A book full of illustrious light is sent to you from God ;’ and the fourth voice was heard to say, ‘ O Mahomet, we have sent thee to be a prophet, apostle, and guide to the world !’

When the apostle of God was about three years old, the blessed child retired into a cave at

the foot of mount Uriel, where the archangel Gabriel, covering his face with his wings, in awful respect approached him, saying, Bismillahi Krahmani Rrahimi ; in the name of the one Almighty, Compassionate, and Merciful, I am sent to pluck from thy heart the root of evil ; for thy prayers have shaken the pillars of eternal decree. The infant prophet said, The will of thy Lord and mine be done. The archangel then opened his bosom with a lancet of adamant, and taking out his heart, squeezed from it the black drop of original sin ; and having restored the heart, sunk gently into the bosom of the Hourî.

Do you wish for more miracles ? Hear how the prophet, in the dark night, passed the seven heavens upon the sacred mule ; of the mighty angel he saw, of such astonishing magnitude that it was twelve thousand days journey in the space between his eye-brows ; of the years he spent in perusing the book of destiny ; and how he returned so speedily, that the mattress was not cold, and he recovered the pitcher at his bed-side, which he had overset at his departure, so that not one drop of water was lost. Contrast these with those of your prophet. He then vented a volume of reproach horrible to hear, and too blasphemous to defile my paper.

Author. Our religion was disseminated in peace ; yours was promulgated by the sword.

Mollah. My friend, you surely have not read the writings of your own historians. The history of the Christian church is a detail of bloody massacre ; from the institution of the Christian

thundering legion under Constantine the Great, to the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain by the ferocious inquisition, or the dragooning of the Hugonots from France under Louis the Great. The Massulmans never yet forced a man to adopt their faith. When Abubeker the caliph took a Christian city, he forebore to enter a principal church, because he would be led to pray in any temple dedicated to God ; and wherever he prayed, the building would be established as a mosque by the piety of the faithful. The companions and successors of the apostle conquered cities and kingdoms, like other nations. They gave civil laws to the conquered, according to the laws of nations ; but they never forced the conscience of any man. It is true, they then, and we now, when a slave pronounces the ineffable creed, immediately knock off his fetters and receive him as a brother ; because we read in the book of Zuni that the souls of true believers are bound up in one fragrant bundle of eternal love. We leave it to the Chistians of the West Indies, and Christians of your southern plantations, to baptise the unfortunate African into your faith, and then use your brother Christians as brutes of the desert.

Here I was so abashed for my country, I could not answer him.

Author. But you hold a sensual paradise.

Mollah. So the doctors of your church tell you ; but a sensual heaven is no more imputable to us than to you. When the Most Holy condescends to reveal himself to man in human language, it must be in terms commensurate with our

conception. The enjoyment of the houri, those immortal virgins who will attend the beautified believer, the splendid pavilions of the heavens, are all but types and significations of holy joys too sublime for man in flesh to conceive of. In your Bible, I read, your prophet refers to the time when he should drink new wine in his father's kingdom. Now would it be candid in me to hastily brand the heaven of your prophet as sensual, and to represent your faithful in bliss as a club of wine-bibbers ?

Author. But you will allow the pre-eminence of the morality of the sacred Scriptures.

Mollah. Your Scriptures contain many excellent rules of life. You are there taught to be kindly affectionate one towards another ; but they recommend the use of wine, and do not forbid gaming. The Alcoran, by forbidding in express terms the use of either, cuts from its follower the two principal sources of disquiet and misery. Read then this spotless book. There you will learn to love those of our faith, and not hate those of any other. You will learn the necessity of being virtuous here, that you may be happy and not miserable hereafter. You will learn resignation to the will of the Holy One ; because you will know that all the events of your life were, in the embryo of time, forged on the anvils of Divine Wisdom. In a word, you will learn the unity of God, which, notwithstanding the cavil of your divines, your prophet, like ours, came into the world to establish, and every man of reason must believe. You need not renounce your proph-

et. Him we respect as a great apostle of God ; but Mahomet is the seal of the prophets. Turn then, my friend, from slavery to the delights of life. Throw off the shackles of education from your soul, and be welcome to the joys of the true believer. Lift your finger to the immensity of space, and confess that there is one God, and that Mahomet is his apostle.

I have thus given a few sketches of the manner of this artful priest. After five days conversation, disgusted with his fables, abashed by his assurance, and almost confounded by his sophistry, I resumed my slave's attire, and sought safety in my former servitude.

CHAP. XL.

. Et cest langue, nest forsque un term similitudinarie,
et est a tant a dire, *hotchpot*.

COKE on *Littleton*, lib. iii. sec. 268.

ARGUMENT.

The Language of the Algerines.

THE very day I was dismissed from the college of the priests I was returned to my master, and the next morning sent again to labour in the quarry. To my surprise no harsh reflections were made upon what these true believers must have styled my obstinate prejudice against the true faith ; for I am sensible that my master was so

good a mussulman as to have rejoiced in my conversion, though it might affect his purse. I experienced the extremest contumely and severity ; but I was never branded as a heretic. I had by this time acquired some knowledge of their language, if language it could be called, which bade defiance to moods and tenses, appearing to be the shreds and clippings of all the tongues, dead and living, ever spoken since the creation. It is well known on the sea-coasts of the Mediterranean by the name of *Lingua Franca*. Probably it had its rise in the awkward endeavours of the natives to converse with strangers from all parts of the world ; and the vulgar people, calling all foreigners *Franks*, supplied its name. I the more readily acquired this jargon, as it contained many Latin derivatives. If I have conjectured the true principles upon which the *Lingua Franca* was originally formed, that principle is still applied through all stages of its existence. Every person assumes a right to introduce words and phrases from his vernacular tongue, and with some alteration in accent they are readily adopted.*

This medley of sounds is spoken by the vulgar, but people of higher rank pride themselves

* I well recollect, being once at a loss to name a composition of boiled barley, rice, and treacle, I called for the *hasty pudding* and *molasses*. The phrase was immediately adopted ; and *haschi fudah molaschi* is now a synonyma with the ancient name. And I doubt not, if a dictionary of the *Lingua Franca* shall ever be compiled, the name of the staple cookery of New England will have a conspicuous place.

in speaking pure Arabic. My conference with the mollah was effected in Latin, which that priest pronounced very differently from the learned president and professors of Harvard college; but he delivered himself with fluency and elegance.

CHAP. XLI.

With aspect sweet as heavenly messenger
 On deeds of mercy sent, a form appears :
 Unfading chaplets bloom upon her brow,
 Eternal smiles play o'er her winning face,
 And frequent promise opes her flattering lips,
 'Tis HOPE, who from the dayless dungeon
 Points the desponding wretch to scenes of bliss ;
 And ever and anon she draws the veil
 Of blank futurity, and shows him where,
 Far, far beyond the oppressor's cruel grasp,
 His malice and his chains he shares again
 The kindred mirth and feast under the roof
 Paternal, or beside his social fire
 Presses the lovely partner of his heart ;
 While the dear pledges of their mutual love
 Gamble around in sportive innocence.
 Anon th' illusive phantom mocks his sight,
 And leaves the frantic wretch to die
 In pristine darkness, fetters, and despair !

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

The Author plans an Escape.

I FOUND at my return many more slaves at work in the stone quarry than when I quitted it; and

the labour and hard fare seemed, if possible, to be augmented. The ease and comfort with which I lived for some weeks past had vitiated my appetite, softened my hands, and relaxed my whole frame, so that my coarse fare and rugged labours seemed more insupportable. I nauseated our homely food, and the skin peeled from my hands and shoulders. I made what inquiries I could as to the interior geography of the country, and comforted myself with the hope of escape; conceiving it, under my desperate circumstances, possible to penetrate unobserved the interior country by the eastern boundaries of the kingdom of Morocco, and then pass on southwest until I met the river Sanaga, as coursing that to its mouth I knew would bring me to some of the European settlements near Goree of Cape Verd. Preparatory to my intended escape I had procured an old goat's skin, to make which into something like a knapsack I deprived myself of many hours of necessary sleep, and of many a scanty meal to fill it with provisions. By the use of my *Lingua Franca* and a little Arabic, I hoped to obtain the assistance of the slaves and lower orders of the people through whom I might journey. The only insurmountable difficulty in my projects was to elude the vigilance of our overseers. By a kind of roll-call the slaves were numbered every night and morning, and at meal times: but, very fortunately, a probable opportunity of escaping unnoticed soon offered. It was announced to the slaves that in three days time there would be a

day of rest, a holiday, when they would be allowed to recreate themselves in the fields. This intelligence diffused general joy. I received it with rapture. I doubled my diligence in my preparations; and, in the afternoon previous to this fortunate day, I contrived to place my little stock of provisions under a rock at a small distance from the quarry. At sunset we were all admitted to bathe, and I retired to my repose with bright hopes of freedom in my heart, which were succeeded by the most pleasing dreams of my native land. That beneficent Being who brightens the slumbers of the wretched with rays of bliss can alone express my raptures, when, in the visions of that night, I stepped lightly over a father's threshold, was surrounded by congratulating friends and faithful domestics, was pressed by the embraces of a father, and with holy joy felt a mother's tears moisten my cheek.

Early in the dawn of the morning, I was awakened by the congratulations of my fellows, who immediately collected in small groups, planning out the intended amusements of the day. Scarce had they portioned the little space allotted to ease according to their various inclinations, when an express order came from our master that we should go, under immediate direction of our overseers, to a plain, about five miles distance, to be present at a public spectacle. This was a grievous disappointment to them, and more especially to me. I buoyed up my spirits however with the hopes that in the hurry and crowd I might find means to escape, which although I knew I could not return

for my knapsack, I was resolved to attempt, having a little millet and two onions in my pocket.

CHAP. XLII.

Oh beasts, of pity void ! to oppress the weak,
To point your vengeance at the friendless head !
ANON.

ARGUMENT.

The Author present at a Public Spectacle.

WE were soon paraded, and marched to the plain to be amused with the promised spectacle, which, notwithstanding it might probably frustrate my attempts for freedom, I anticipated with a pleasing curiosity. When we arrived at the plain, we found surrounding a spot fenced in with a slight railing, a large concourse of people, among whom I could discern many groups of men, whose habits and sorrow-indented faces showed them to be of the same miserable order with us. In the midst of this spot there was a frame erected, somewhat resembling the stage of our pillories ; on the centre of which a pole or strong stake was erected, sharpened at the end, and pointed with steel. While I was perplexing myself with the design of this apparatus, military music was heard at a distance ; and soon after a strong party of guards approached the scaffold. and soon mounted upon the stage a miserable wretch, with all the agonies of despair in

his countenance, who, I learned from his sentence proclaimed by a public crier, was to be empaled alive for attempting to escape from bondage. The consciousness that I had been, one moment before, meditating the same act for which this wretch was to suffer so cruelly, added to my feelings for a fellow creature, excited so strong a sympathy for the devoted wretch, that I was near fainting.

I will not wound the sensibility of my human fellow citizens by a minute detail of this fiend-like punishment. Suffice it to say, that, after they had stripped the sufferer naked, except a cloth around the loins, they inserted the iron pointed stake into the lower termination of the vertebræ, and thence forced it up near his back bone until it appeared between his shoulders, with devilish ingenuity contriving to avoid the vital parts. The stake was then raised into the air, and the suffering wretch exposed to the view of the assembly, writhing in all the contortions of insupportable agony. How long he lived I cannot tell ; I never gave but one look at him : one was enough to appal a New-England heart. I laid my head on the rails until we retired. It was now obvious it was designed by our master that this horrid spectacle should operate upon us as a terrifying example. It had its full effect on me. I thought no more of attempting an escape ; but, during our return, was miserably tormented lest my knapsack and provisions should be found and adduced against me, as evidence of my intent to desert. Happily for me I recovered them the next day, and no suspicions of my design were entertained.

CHAP. XLIII.

—————If perchance thy home
Salute thee with a father's honoured name,
Go call thy sons, instruct them what a debt
They owe their ancestors, and make them swear
To pay it, by transmitting down entire
Those sacred rites to which themselves were born.
AKENSIDE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author feels that he is indeed a Slave.

I now found that I was indeed a slave. My body had been enthralled, but the dignity of a free mind remained ; and the same insulted pride, which had impelled me to spurn the villain slave-driver who first struck me a disgraceful blow, had often excited a surly look of contempt upon my master and the vile instruments of his oppression ; but the terror of the late execution, with the unabating fatigue of my body, had so depressed my fortitude, that I trembled at the look of the overseer, and was meanly anxious to conciliate his favour by attempting personal exertions beyond my ability. The trite story of the insurgent army of the slaves of ancient Rome being routed by the mere menaces and whips of their masters, which I had ever sceptically received, I now credited. A slave myself, I have learnt to appreciate the blessings of freedom. May my countrymen ever preserve and transmit to their posterity that liberty which they have bled to obtain ; and always bear

it deeply engraven upon their memories, that when men are once reduced to slavery, they can never resolve, much more achieve, any thing that is manly, virtuous, or great !

Depression of spirits consequent upon my blasted hope of escape, coarse fare, and constant fatigue, reduced me to a mere skeleton : while over exertion brought on an hæmoptysis, or expectoration of blood, and menaced an approaching hectic. Soon after, fainting under my burden, I was taken up, and conveyed in a horse-litter to the infirmary for slaves, in the city of Algiers.

CHAP. XLIV.

Oft have I prov'd the labours of thy love,
And the warm effort of thy gentle heart,
Anxious to please.

BLAIR'S GRAVE.

ARGUMENT.

The Infirmary.

HERE I was lodged comfortably, and had all the attention paid me which good nurses and ignorant physicians could render. The former were men who had made a vow of poverty, and whose profession was to attend the couches of the sick ; the latter were more ignorant than those of my own country, who had amused me in the gayer days of life. They had no theory, nor any systematic

practice. But it was immaterial to me ; I had cast my last anxious thoughts upon my dear native land, had blessed my affectionate parents, and was resigned to die.

One day, as I was sunk upon my bed after a violent fit of coughing, I was awakened from a doze by a familiar voice which accosted me in Latin. I opened my eyes, and saw at my side the mollah who attempted to destroy my faith. It immediately struck me that his purpose was to tempt me to apostatize in my last moments. The religion of my country was all I had left of the many blessings I once enjoyed in common with my fellow citizens. This rendered it doubly dear to me. Not that I was insensible of the excellence and verity of my faith ;—no. If I had been exposed to severer agonies than I suffered, and had been flattered with all the riches and honours these infidels could bestow, I trust I should never have foregone that faith, which assured me, for the miseries I sustained in a cruel separation from my parents, friends, and under intolerable slavery, a rich compensation in that future world, where I should rejoin my beloved friends, and where sorrow, misery, or slavery, should never come. I judged uncandidly of the priest. He accosted me with the same gentleness as when at the college, commiserated my deplorable situation, and, upon my expressing an aversion to talk upon religion, assured me that he disdained taking any advantage of my weakness ; nor would attempt to deprive me of the consolation of my faith, when he feared I had no time left to ground me in

a better. He recommended me to the particular care of the religious, who attended the sick in the hospital ; and having learned in our former conferences that I was educated a physician, he influenced his friend the director of the infirmary to purchase me, if I regained my health, and told him I should be serviceable as a minor assistant. If any man could have effected a change of my religion, it was this priest. I was charmed with the man, though I abominated his faith. His very smile exhilarated my spirits and infused health ; and, when he repeated his visits, and communicated his plans of alleviating my distresses, the very idea of being freed from the oppressions of Abdel Melic made an exchange of slavery appear desirable. I was again attached to life, and requested him to procure a small quantity of the quinquina, or jesuit's bark. This excellent specific was unknown in the infirmary ; but as the Algerines are all fatalists, it is immaterial to the patient who is his physician and what he prescribes. By his kindness the bark was procured, and I made a decoction, as near to Huxham's as the ingredients I could procure would admit, which I infused in wine ; no brandy being allowed even for the sick. In a few weeks the diagnostics were favourable, and I recovered my pristine health ; and soon after the director of the hospital purchased me of my late master, and I was appointed to the care of the medicine room, with permission to go into the city for fresh supplies.

CHAP. XLV.

Hail, Æsculapians! hail, ye Coan race!
Thro' earth and sea, thro' chaos' boundless space;—
Whether in Asia's pamper'd courts ye shine,
Or Afric's deadly realms beneath the line!

PATENT ADDRESS.

ARGUMENT.

*The Author's Practice as a Surgeon and Physician
in the City of Algiers.*

My circumstances were now so greatly ameliorated, that if I could have been assured of returning to my native country in a few years, I should have esteemed them eligible. To observe the customs, habits, and manners, of a people of whom so much is said and so little known at home, and especially to notice the medical practice of a nation whose ancestors have been spoken of with respect in the annals of the healing art, was highly interesting.

After a marked and assiduous attention of some months to the duties of my office, I acquired the confidence of my superiors so far, that I was sometimes sent abroad in the city to examine a patient, who had applied for admission into the infirmary; and sometimes the physicians themselves would condescend to consult me. Though they affected to despise my skill, I had often the gratification of observing that they administered my prescriptions with success.

In surgery they were arrant bunglers. Indeed, their pretensions to knowledge in this branch were so small, that my superior adroitness scarcely occasioned envy. Applications, vulgarly common in the United States, were there viewed with admiration. The actual cautery was their only method of staunching an external hæmorrhage. The first amputation I operated drew all the principal physicians around me. Nothing could equal their surprise at the application of the spring tourniquet, which I had assisted a workman to make for the occasion, except the taking up of the arteries. My friend the mollah came to congratulate me on my success, and spread my reputation wherever he visited. A poor creature was brought to the hospital with a depressed fracture upon the os frontis, sunk into a lethargy, and died. I proposed trepanning, but found those useful instruments unknown in this country. By the care of the director, I had a set made under my direction ; but, after having performed upon a dead, I never could persuade the Algerine faculty to permit me to operate upon a living, subject. What was more amusing, they pretended to improve the aid of philosophy against me, and talked of the weight of a column of air pressing upon the dura mater, which, they said, would cause instant death. Of all follies, the foppery of learning is the most insupportable. Professional ignorance and obstinacy were not all I had to contend with ; religious prejudice was a constant impediment to my success. The bigotry of the Mahometan differs essentially from that of the Roman-catholic. The

former is a passive, the latter an active, principle. The papist will burn infidels and heretics ; the Musulman never torments the unbeliever, but is more tenaciously attached to his own creed, makes his faith a principle in life, and never suffers doubt to disturb or reason to overthrow it. I verily believe that if the Alcoran had declared that the earth was an immense plain and stood still, while the sun performed its revolution round it, a whole host of Gallileos, with a Newton at their head, could not have shaken their opinion, though aided by all the demonstrative powers of experimental philosophy.

I was invited by one of the faculty to inspect the eyes of a child which had lost its sight about three years ; I proposed couching, and operated on the right eye with success. This child was the only son of an opulent Algerine, who, being informed that an infidel had restored his son to sight, refused to let me operate on the other, protesting that if he had known that the operator was an unbeliever, his son should have remained blind until he opened his eyes upon the houri of paradise. He sent me however a present of money, and offered to make my fortune if I would abjure the Christian faith and embrace Ismaelism, which, he said, he believed I should one day do : as he thought that God never would have decreed that I should restore his son to sight, if he had not also decreed that I should be a true believer.

CHAP. XLVI.

Ryghte thenne there settenne onne a garyshe seatte
 A statlie dame lyche to an aunciant mayde ;
 Great nationes and hygh kynges lowe at her feette,
 Obeyseenes mayde, as if of herre afrayede,
 As overe theme her yronne rodde she swayde.

Hyghte customme was the loftie tyrantes namme,
 Habyte hye somme yclypt the worldlinges godde,
 Panym and faythsman bowe before the dame,
 Ne lawe butte yeldethe to her sovrenne nodde,
 Reasonne her foemanne couchenne at her rodde.

FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT POETRY.

ARGUMENT.

Visits a sick Lady.

My reputation increased, and I was called the learned slave ; and soon after sent for to visit a sick lady. This was very agreeable to me ; for, during my whole captivity, I had never yet seen the face of a woman ; even the female children being carefully concealed, at least from the sight of the vulgar. I now anticipated much satisfaction from this visit, and hoped that through the confidence with which a tender and successful physician seldom fails to inspire his patient, I should be able to acquire much useful information upon subjects of domestic concern, impervious to travellers. Preparatory to this visit I had received a new and better suit of clothes than I had worn, as a present from the father of the

young lady. A gilt waggon came to the gate of the hospital, which I entered with our principal physician, and was drawn by mules to a country-house about five miles from the city, where I was received by Hadgi Mulladin, the father of my patient, with great civility :—real gentlemen are the same in all countries. He treated us with fruit and sherbet ; and smiling upon me after he had presented a bowl of sherbet to the principal physician, he handed me another bowl, which, to my surprise, I found filled with an excellent Greek wine, and archly inquired of me how I liked the *sherbet*. Hadgi Mulladin had travelled in his youth, and was supposed to have imbibed the libertine principles of the Christian as it respected wine. This was the only instance which came to my knowledge of any professed Mussulman indulging himself with wine or any strong liquor ; and it was not unnoticed by the principal physician, who afterwards gravely told me that Hadgi Mulladin would be undoubtedly damned for drinking wine ; would be condemned to perpetual thirst in the next world, while the black spirit would present him with red hot cups of scalding wine. Exhilarated by the wine and the comparatively free manners of this Algerine, I was anxious to see my patient. I was soon gratified. Being introduced into a large room, I was left alone nigh an hour. A side door was then opened, and two eunuchs came forward with much solemnity and made signs for me to retire to the farthest part of the room, as if I had been infested with some malignant disorder.

They were, in about ten minutes, followed by four more persons of the same description, bearing a species of couch close covered with double curtains of silk, which they set down in the midst of the room ; and every one drew a broad scymetar from his belt, flourished it in the air, inclined it over his shoulder, and stood guard at every corner of the couch. While I was wondering at this parade, the two first eunuchs retired and soon returned ; the one bearing an ewer or bason of water, the other a low marble stand and some napkins in a China dish. I was then directed to wash my feet ; and another bason being produced, it was signified that I must wash my hands, which I did three times. A large thick muslin veil was then thrown over my head, I was led towards the couch, and was presented with a pulse glass, being a long glass tube graduated and terminated below with a hollow bulb, and filled with some liquid, which rose and fell like spirits in the thermometer. This instrument was inserted through the curtains, and the bulb applied to the pulse of my patient, and the other extremity put under my veil. By this I was to form my opinion of her disorder and prescribe a remedy ; for I was not allowed to ask any questions, or even to speak to, much more see, the lady, who was soon re-conveyed to her apartment. The two first eunuchs now marched in the rear, and closed and fastened the doors carefully after them. After waiting alone two hours or more, I was called to give my advice ; and never was I more puzzled. To confess ignorance would have ruin-

ed my reputation, and reputation was then life itself. The temptations to quackery were powerful, and overcame me. I boldly pronounced her disease to be an intermittent fever, prescribed venesection, and exhibited some common febrifuge, with directions to throw in the bark when the fever ceased. My prescriptions were attended with admirable success; and, if I had conformed to their faith, beyond a doubt I might have acquired immense riches. But I was a slave, and all my gains were the property of my master. I must do him the justice to say that he permitted me to keep any particular presents that were made to me. Frequent applications were made to the director for my advice and assistance to the diseased; and though he received generally my fee, yet it was sufficiently gratifying to me to be permitted to walk abroad, to amuse myself, and obtain, information of this extraordinary people, as much of which as the prescribed limits of this little work will admit I shall now lay before my readers.

CHAP. XLVII.

O'er trackless seas, beneath the starless sky,
 Or when thick clouds obscure the lamp of day,
 The seaman, by the faithful needle led,
 Dauntless pursues his devious destin'd course ;
 Thus, on the boundless waste of ancient time,
 Still let the faithful pen unerring point
 The polar truth.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems.*

ARGUMENT.

Sketch of the History of the Algerines.

MUCH antiquarian lore might here be displayed, in determining whether the state of Algiers was part of the ancient Mauritania Massilia, or within the boundaries of the republic of Carthage ; and pages of fruitless research might be wasted in precisely ascertaining the era when that portion of the sea-coast of Africa, now generally known by the name of the Barbary* Shore, was subdued by the Romans, or conquered by the Vandals.

* Bruce an Englishman, who travelled to collect fairy tales for the amusement of London cits, observes that this territory was called *Barbaria* by the Greeks and Romans, from *beber*, signifying a shepherd ; and even the accurate compiler of the American edition of Guthrie's Geography has quoted the observation in a marginal note. We cannot expect that geographers should be philologists any more than that every printer should be a Webster. How the Greeks or Romans came by the word *beber*, I leave Mr. Bruce to elucidate. The former had

The history of nations, like the biography of man, assumes an interesting importance only when its subject is matured into vigour. To trace the infancy of the old world, we run into childish prattle and boyish tales. Suffice it then to say, that the mixed multitudes which inhabited this country were reduced to the subjection of the Greek emperors by the arms of the celebrated Belisarius, and so continued until the close of the seventh century, when they were subdued by the invincible power, and converted to the creed of the ancient caliphs, the immediate successors of the prophet Mahomet, who parcelled the country into many subordinate governments. One of these states is Algiers ; which is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean ; on the south by mount Atlas—so familiar to the classic reader—and the chain of hills which extends thence to the north-east ; on the west by the kingdom of Morocco* ; and on the east by the state of Tunis. The state of Algiers is about five hundred miles in length

the term *barbaros*, a barbarian, which they indiscriminately applied to all foreigners ; and, when Greek literature became fashionable in Roman schools, the latter adopted the term, and *barbarus* was applied by the Romans with the same fopish contempt.

* The common geography compilers add the kingdom of Tefilet ; I conjecture, upon the authority of Dr. Shaw ; though I could never hear of any such kingdom in Africa. The face of many a country which that learned writer describes differs as much from the truth as his own physiognomy from the true line of beauty.

upon the coast of the Mediterranean, and from fifty to one hundred and twenty miles in breadth, and boasts about as large an extent of territory as is contained in all the United States proper, which lie to the north of Pennsylvania, including the same.

It was nine hundred years after its conquest by the caliphs, and at the beginning of the tenth century, that the Algerines, by becoming formidable to the Europeans, acquired the notice of the enlightened historian. About this time, two enterprising young men, sons of a potter of the island of Mytelene, the ancient Lesbos, called Horric and Hayraddin, collecting a number of desperadoes, seized upon a brigantine and commenced pirates, making indiscriminate depredations upon the vessels of all nations. They soon augmented their force to a fleet of twelve galleys, besides small craft, with which they infested the sea-coast of Spain and Italy, and carried their booty into the ports of Barbary, styling themselves the lords of the sea, and the enemies of all those who sailed upon it. European nations were not then possessed of such established and formidable navies as at the present day: even the English, who seem formed for the command of the sea, had but few ships of force. Henry the Eighth built some vessels, which, from their unmanageable bulk, were rather suited for home defence than foreign enterprize; and the fleet of Elizabeth, which, in 1588, destroyed the Spanish armada, was principally formed of ships chartered by the merchants, who were the general resource of all the maritime

powers. The fleet of these adventurers was therefore formidable ; and, as Robertson says, soon became terrible from the Straits of the Dardanelles to those of Gibraltar. The prospects of ambition increase as man ascends its summit. Horric, the elder brother, surnamed Barbarossa, as some assert, from the red colour of his beard, aspired to the attainment of sovereign power upon land ; and a favourable opportunity soon offered of gratifying his pride. His frequent intercourse with the Barbary states induced an acquaintance with Eutimi, then king of Algiers, who was at war with Spain, and had made several unsuccessful attacks upon a small fort built by that nation on the Oran. In his distress, this king inconsiderately applied to Barbarossa for assistance, who readily embraced the invitation, and conducted himself like more modern allies. He first assisted this weak king against his enemy, and then sacrificed him to his own ambition ; for, leaving his brother Hayraddin to command the fleet, he entered the city of Algiers at the head of five thousand men, was received by the inhabitants as their deliverer, assisted them against the Spaniards, and then arrested and disarmed the principle people, secretly murdered the unsuspecting Eutimi, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Algiers. Lavish of his treasures to his adherants, and cruelly vindictive to those he distrusted, he not only established his government, but dethroned the neighbouring king of Temecien, and annexed his dominions to his own. But the brave marquis de Comeres, the Spanish governor of Oran, by the direction of

the emperor Charles the Fifth, assisted the dethroned king ; and, after defeating Barbarossa in several bloody battles, besieged him in Tamecien, the capitol of that kingdom, where this ferocious adventurer was slain in attempting his escape, but fought his pursuers with a brutal rage becoming the ferocity of his life. Upon the death of Barbarossa, his brother Hayraddin assumed the same name and the kingdom of Algiers. This Barbarossa, is better known to the European annalist for rendering his dominions tributary to the grand seignior. He enlarged his power with a body of the Turkish soldiers ; and, being promoted to the command of the Turkish fleet, he spread the fame of the Ottoman power through all Europe : for, though obliged by the superior power of the emperor Charles the Fifth to relinquish his conquest of Tunis, which he had effected by a similar treachery with which his brother had possessed himself of Algiers, yet his being the acknowledged rival of Andrew Doria, the first sea commander of his age, has laurelled his brow among those who esteem glory to consist in carnage. This Barbarossa built a mole for the protection of the harbour of Algiers, in which, it is said, he employed thirty thousand Christian slaves : he died a natural death, and was succeeded by Hassan Aga, a renegado from Sirdinia, elected by the soldiers, but confirmed by the grand seignior ; who, taking advantage of a violent storm which wrecked the navy of the emperor Charles the Fifth, who had invaded his territories, drove that proud emperor from the coast, defeated the rear of his ar-

my, and captured so many of his soldiers, that the Algerines, it is reported, sold many of their prisoners, by way of contempt, at the price of an onion per head. Another Hassan, son to the second Barbarossa, succeeded, and defeated the Spaniards, who invaded his dominions under the command of the count de Alcandara, killed that nobleman, and took about twelve thousand prisoners. But his successor Mahomet merited most the thanks of his country, when, by ingratiating himself with the Turkish soldiers, and by incorporating them with his own troops, he annihilated the contests of these fierce rivals, formed a permanent body of brave disciplined troops, and enabled his successor to renounce that dependance upon the grand seignior, to which the second Barbarossa, had submitted.

In 1609, the Algerines received a vast accession of strength and numbers from the emigrant Moors, whom the weak policy of Spain had driven to their dominions. Embittered by Christian severity, the Moors flocked on board the Algerine vessels, and sought a desperate revenge upon all who bore the Christian name. Their fleet was said to consist at this period of upwards of forty ships, from two to four hundred tons burthen. Though the French, with that gallantry which distinguished them under their monarchs, undertook to avenge the cause of Europe and Christianity; and, in 1617, sent a fleet of fifty ships of war against them, who sunk the Algerine admiral and dispersed his fleet; yet this bold people were so elated by their accession of numbers and riches, that they

committed wanton and indiscriminate outrage on the person and property of all nations, violating the treaties made by the grand seignior, seizing the ships of those powers with which he was in alliance, even in his own ports ; and, after plundering Scandaroon in Syria, an Ottoman city, they, in 1623, threw off their dependence on the Sublime Porte. In 1637, the Algerine rovers entered the British channel, and made so many captures that it was conjectured near five thousand English were made prisoners by them ; and, in the same year, they dispatched Hali Pinchinin with sixteen galleys to rob the rich chapel of Our Lady of Loretto ; which proving unsuccessful, they ravaged the shores of the Adriatic, and so enraged the Venetians, that they fitted out a fleet of twenty-eight sail under the command of admiral Cappello, who, by a late treaty with the Porte, had liberty to enter any of its harbours to destroy the Algerine galleys. Cappello was ordered by the Venetians to sink, burn, and destroy, without mercy, all the corsairs of the enemy, and he bravely and successfully executed his commission. He immediately overtook and defeated Pinchinin, disabled five of his galleys ; and this Algerine retreating to Valona and landing his booty, where he erected batteries for its defence, the brave Cappello manned his boats and small craft, and captured his whole fleet. In these actions about twelve hundred Algerines were slain ; and what was more pleasing, sixteen hundred Christian gally-slaves set at liberty. History affords no instance of a people so repeatedly and suddenly recovering their

losses as the Algerines. Within a few years we find them fitting out seventy sail of armed vessels, and making such daring and desperate attacks upon the commerce of nations, that the most haughty maritime powers of Europe were more anxious to shelter themselves under a treaty, and pay an humiliating tribute, than to attempt nobly to reduce them to reason and humanity. But, after many ineffectual attempts had been made to unite the force of Europe against them, the gallant French by the command of Lewis the Fourteenth, again roused themselves to chastise this intractable race. In 1682, the marquis du Quesne with a large fleet and several bomb-ketches, reached Algiers; and with sea-mortars bombarded it so violently, that he laid almost the whole city in ruins. Whether his orders went no further, or the vice-admiral judged he had chastised them sufficiently, or whether a violent storm drove his fleet from its moorings, does not appear. But it is certain that he left the city abruptly, and the Algerines, to revenge this insult, immediately sent their fleet to the coast of France, and took signal reparation.

The next year du Quesne cast anchor before Algiers with a large fleet; and for forty-eight hours made such deadly discharges with his cannon, and showered so many bombs over this devoted city, that the dey sued for peace.

The French admiral, with that generosity which is peculiar to his nation, insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that all the Christian slaves should be sent on board his squadron, with Mez-emorto, the dey's admiral, as a hostage for the

performance of this preliminary article. The dey assembled his divan, or council of great officers, and communicated the French demands. Mezemorto immediately collected the sailors who had manned the ramparts, and with whom he was a favourite; and, accusing the dey of cowardice, he so inflamed them, that, being joined by the soldiers, they murdered the dey, and elected Mezemorto in his stead. This was a signal for renewed hostility, and never was there a scene of greater carnage. The French seemed to have reserved their fire for this moment, when they poured such incessant volleys of red-hot shot, bombs, and carcasses, into the city, that it was nearly all in flames. The streets run blood, while the politic and furious Mezemorto, dreading a change in the public mind, and conscious that another cessation of arms would be attended with his death or delivery to the French, ran furiously round the ramparts, and exhorted the military to their duty, and to make his new subjects desperate caused all the French slaves to be murdered; and seizing the French consul, who had been a prisoner among them since the first declaration of war, he ordered him to be tied hand and foot, and placed over a bomb mortar, and shot into the air towards the French fleet. The French were so highly enraged that the sailors could scarcely be prevented from attempting to land and destroy this barbarous race. The vice-admiral contented himself with levelling their fortifications, reducing the city to rubbish, and burning their whole fleet. A fair opportunity now presented of

preventing the Algerines from again molesting commerce. If the European maritime powers had by treaty engaged themselves to destroy the first armed galley of the Algerines which appeared upon the seas, and conjointly forbidden them to repair their fortifications, this people might ere now have from necessity turned their attention to commerce ; the miscreants and outcasts of other nations would have no longer found refuge among them ; and the state at this time might have been as celebrated for the peaceful arts as they are odious for the constant violation of the laws of nations and humanity. This was surely the common interest of the European powers ; but to talk of their common interest is idle. The narrow politics of Europe seek an individual not a common good ; for no sooner had France humbled the Algerines than England thought it more for her interest to enter into a treaty with the new dey, and, by way of douceur, sent to Algiers a ship load of naval and military stores, to help them to rebuild their navy and strengthen their fortresses ; while France, jealous lest the affections of the monster Mezemorto, who barbarously murdered their fellow-citizens, should be attached to her rivals the English, immediately patched up a peace with the Algerines upon the most favourable terms to the latter ; and to conclude the farce, sent them another ship load of similar materials and of superior value to those presented by the English. This, my readers, is a small specimen of European policy.

The latest authentic account of any attack upon the Algerines was on the 23d of June, 1775 ;

when the Spaniards sent the count O'Reilly with a respectable fleet, twenty-four thousand land forces, and a prodigious train of artillery, to destroy the city. The count landed two-thirds of his troops about a league and a half to the eastward of the city ; but upon marching into the country they were opposed by an immense army of natives. The Spaniards say it consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand—probably exaggerated by their apprehensions. This is certain, they had force sufficient or superior skill, to defeat the Spaniards, who retreated to their ships with the loss of thirteen cannon, some howitzers, and three thousand killed, besides prisoners ; while they destroyed six thousand Algerines. No sooner had the treaty of Paris, in 1782, completely liberated the United States from their dependence upon the British nation, than that haughty exasperated power, anxious to show its late colonists the value of that protection under which their vessels had heretofore navigated the Mediterranean, excited the Algerines to capture the shipping of the United States, who, following from necessity the policy of European nations, concluded a treaty with this piratical state on the 5th of September, 1795.

Thus I have delineated a sketch of Algerine history, from actual information obtained upon the spot, and the best European authorities. This dry detail of facts will probably be passed over by those who read for mere amusement, but the intelligent reader will in this concise memoir trace the leading principles of this despotic government ; will account for the avarice and rapacity of a peo-

ple who live by plunder; perceive whence it is that they are thus suffered to injure commerce and outrage humanity; and justify our executive government in concluding what some uninformed men may esteem a humiliating and too dearly purchased peace with these freebooters.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Not such as erst illumin'd ancient Greece—
Cities for arts and arms and freedom fam'd—
The den of despots and the wretch's grave.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

Description of the City of Algiers.

I CANNOT give so particular a description of this city as I could wish or my readers may desire. Perhaps no town contains so many places impervious to strangers. The interior of the dey's palace, and the female apartment of every house, are secluded even from the natives. No one approaches them but their respective masters; while no stranger is permitted to inspect the fortifications; and the mosques, or churches, are scrupulously guarded from the polluted steps of the unbeliever. A poor slave, branded as an infidel, would obtain only general information from a residence in the midst of them.

Algiers is situated in a bay of that name, and built upon the sea-shore, and on an eminence which rises above it, and which naturally gives the distinction of the upper and lower city. Towards the sea it is strengthened with vast fortifications, which are continued upon the mole which secures the port from storms and assaults. I never perambulated it, but should judge that a line drawn from the west arm of the mole, and extended by land until it terminated on the east, comprehending the buildings, would measure about two miles. It contains one hundred and twenty mosques, two hundred and twenty public baths, and innumerable coffee-houses. The mosques are large stone buildings, not lofty in proportion to their extent on the ground, and have usually erected upon their corners small square towers, or minarets, whence the inferior priests call the people to prayers. The baths are convenient buildings, lighted on the top, provided with cold and warm water, which you mingle at your pleasure, in small marble cisterns, by the assistance of brass cocks. Every bather pays two rials at his entrance, for which he is accommodated with a dressing-room contiguous to the bathing cistern, towels, flesh-brushes, and other conveniences, a glass of sherbet, and an assistant if he chooses. The coffee-houses or rooms are generally piazzas, with an awning over them, projecting, from the front of the houses into the streets. Here the inhabitants delight to loll, to drink sherbet, sip coffee, and chew opium, or smook tobacco steeped in a decoction of this exhilarating drug.

I have already sketched a description of the houses, and shall only add, that the roofs are nearly flat, with a small declivity to cast the rain-water into spouts. Algiers is tolerably well supplied with spring-water, conveyed in pipes from the back country ; but the Algerines, who are immoderately attached to bathing, prefer rain-water as best adapted to that use, considering it a luxury in comparison with that obtained from the springs or sea.

The inhabitants say Algiers contains twenty thousand houses, one hundred and forty thousand believers, twenty-two thousand Jews, and six thousand Christian slaves. I suspect that Algerine vanity has exaggerated the truth ; but I cannot contradict it. Immediately before the census of the inhabitants of the United States, I am told persons who possessed much better means of calculation mis-rated the population of the principal towns most egregiously.

CHAP. XLIX.

See the deep curse of power uncontrol'd.

ANON.

ARGUMENT.

The Government of the Algerines.

It has been noticed that Hayraddin Barbarossa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, rendered his kingdom tributary to the grand seignior ;

and that in the year 1623, the Algerines threw off their dependence on the Sublime Porte. Since that time the Turkish court have made several attempts to reduce the Algerines to their subjection ; and, by siding with the numerous pretenders to the regency, so common in this unstable government, they have at times apparently effected their design : while the Algerines, by assassinating or dethroning those princes whose weakness or wants have induced them to submit to extraneous power, have reduced their dependence on the Sublime Porte to a mere name. At present the grand seignior, fearful of losing the very shadow of authority he has over them, contents himself with receiving a tribute almost nominal ; consisting chiefly of a present towards defraying the expenses of the annual canopy, which is sent to adorn the prophet's tomb at Medina : while, on the other hand, the Algerines, dreading the grand seignior's interference in their popular commotions, allow the Sublime Porte to confirm the election of their dey, and to badge his name, by affixing and terminating it with those of the principal officers of the Turkish government. Hence the present dey, whose real name is Hassan, is styled Vizier, which is also the appellation of the grand seignior's first minister. As bashaw, which terminates the dey's name, is the Turkish title of their viceroys and principal commanders, he makes war or peace, negotiates treaties, coins money, and performs every other act of absolute independence.

Nor is the dey less independent of his own subjects. Though he obtains his office frequently

by the election of a furious soldiery, and wades to the regency through the blood of his predecessor, yet he is no sooner invested with the insignia of office, than an implicit reverence is paid to his commands, even by his ferocious electors ; and though he often summons his divan, or council of great officers, yet they are merely advisory. He conducts foreign affairs at his own good pleasure ; and as to internal he knows no restraint, except from certain local customs, opinions, and tenets, which he himself venerates in common with his meanest subjects. Justice is administered in his name. He even determines controversies in his own person, besides being supposed virtually present in the persons of his cadis or judges. If he inclines to interfere in the determination of a suit, upon his approach the authority of the cadis ceases, and is merged in that of the dey. Some customs have been intimated, which restrain the dey's despotism. These relate principally to religion, property, and females. He will not condemn a priest to death ; and, although upon the decease of a subject his landed property immediately escheats to the reigning dey, yet he never seizes it in the life of the possessor ; and when a man is executed for the highest crime, the females of his family are treated with respect : nay, even in an insurrection of the soldiery, when they murdered their dey, neither they nor his successor violated the female apartments of the slain. A mere love of novelty in the soldiery, the wish to share the largesses of a new sovereign, the policy of his courtiers, the ambition or popularity of his

officers or children, have not unfrequently caused the dethroning of the dey ; but the more systematic cause of his being so frequently dethroned shall be noticed in our next chapter.

CHAP. L.

May these add to the number that may scald thee !
Let molten coin be thy damnation !

SHAKSPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

Revenue.

THE dey's revenue is stated by writers at seven hundred thousand dollars per annum. If the limits of this work would permit, I think I could prove it under-rated from a view of his expenditures. It arises from a slight tax upon his subjects, a tribute from some Moors and tribes of Arabs in the interior country, a capitation tax upon the Jews, prizes taken at sea, presents from foreign powers as the price of peace, annual subsidies from those nations with whom he is in alliance, and customary presents made by his courtiers on his birthday. To these may be added sums squeezed from his bashaws in the government of the interior provinces, and from the Jews as the price of his protection. With these supplies he has to support the magnificence of his court, defray the expense of foreign embassies, pay his army, supply

his navy, and repair his fortifications ; and by frequent gratuities, if he is not very successful and popular, support his interest among those who have the power to dethrone him. His proportion of the prizes captured at sea, and the conciliatory presents made by the commercial powers, are the principal sources of his revenue. It is obviously the policy of the dey, by frequently infringing his treaties, to augment his finances by new captures, or fresh premiums for his friendship. A pacific dey is sure not to reign long ; for, besides the disgust of the formidable body of sailors who are emulous of employ, when the reigning dey has once gone through the routine of seizing the vessels, receiving the presents, and concluding treaties with the usual foreign powers, he finds that the annual payments secured by treaties are insufficient for the maintenance of his necessary expenditures, and is therefore constrained frequently to declare war as a principle of self-preservation. I have been told the present dey condescended to explain these principles to an American agent in Algiers, and grounded his capturing the American shipping upon this necessity. I must, said the dey, be at war with some nation, and yours must have its turn. When the dey, from a pacific disposition, or dread of foreign power, is at peace with the world, the disgusted sailor and avaricious soldier join to dethrone him—having established it as a maxim that all treaties expire with the reigning dey, and must be renewed with his successor. This is undoubtedly the true source whence spring those frequent and dreadful convulsions in the regency of Algiers.

CHAP. LI.

All arm'd in proof, the fierce banditti join
In horrid phalanx, urg'd by hellish rage,
To glut their vengeance in the blood of those
That worship Him who shed his blood for all.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

The Dey's Forces.

THERE are but few vessels actually belonging to the dey's navy. He has many marine officers who rank in the sea service ; but, except on great expeditions, they are permitted to command the galleys of private adventurers ; and it is these picaroons that make such dreadful depredations on commerce. I can give but a slender account of his land forces. Those in established pay are said to amount to eight thousand foot, and two thousand Moorish horse. To these may be added four thousand inhabitants of the city, who enroll themselves as soldiers for protection in military tumults, receive no pay, but are liable to be called upon to man the fortifications in emergency, insurrection, or invasion. Perhaps there are more of this species in the provinces. The horse are cantoned in the country round the city, and do duty by detachments at the palace. Three thousand foot are stationed in the fortifications, and marshalled as the dey's guards. The residue of the land forces are distributed among the bashaws, to overawe the

provinces. But the principal reliance, in case of invasion, is the vast bodies of what may be styled militia, which the bashaws in case of emergency lead from the interior country.

CHAP. LII.

Quaint Fashion too was there,
Whose caprice trims
The Indian's wampum
And the crowns of kings.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

Notices of the Habits, Customs, &c. of the Algerines.

THE men wear next to their bodies a linen shirt, or rather chemise, and drawers of the same texture. Over their shirt a linen or silk gown, which is girded about their loins by a sash, in the choice of which they exhibit much fancy. In this dress their legs and lower extremity of their arms are bare. As an outer garment, a loose coat of coarser materials is thrown over the whole. They wear turbans, which are long pieces of muslin or silk curiously folded, so as to form a cap comfortable and ornamental. Slippers are usually worn, though the soldiers are provided with a sort of buskin, resembling our half-boots. The dress of the women, I am told—for I never had the pleas-

ure of inspecting it very critically—resembles that of the men, except that their drawers are longer, and their outside garment is like our old-fashioned ridinghoods. When the ladies walk the streets, they are muffled with bandages or handkerchiefs of muslin or silk over their faces, which conceal all but their eyes; and if too nearly inspected, will let fall a large veil which conceals them entirely. The men usually sit cross-legged upon mattresses laid upon low seats at the sides of the room. They loll on cushions at their meals, and after their repasts occasionally indulge with a short slumber. I have such a laudable attachment to the customs of my own country, that I doubt whether I can judge candidly of their cookery or mode of eating. The former would be unpalatable, and the latter disgusting, to most Americans; for saffron is their common seasoning. They cook their provisions to rags or pap, and eat it with their fingers; though the better sort use spoons. Their diversions consist in associating in the coffee-houses in the city, and in the country under groves, where they smoke and chat, and drink cooling, not inebriating, liquors. Their more active amusements are riding and throwing the dart, at both which they are very expert. They sometimes play at chess and draughts, but never at games of chance or for money, those being expressly forbidden by the Alcoran.

CHAP. LIII.

Prætulerim scriptor delirus inersque viberi,
 Dum mea delectant mala me vel denique fallant.
 HOR. Epist. ii.

Done. into English Metre.

Pd rather wield as dull a pen
 As chatty B— or bungling Ben ;
 Tedious as doctor P—nce, or rather
 As Samuel. Increase, Cotton M—r ;
 And keep of truth the beaten track,
 And plod the old cart-rut of fact,
 Than write as fluent, false, and vain,
 As cit Genet or Tommy Paine.

ARGUMENT.

Marriages and Funerals.

IT is the privilege of travellers to exaggerate ; but I wish not to avail myself of this pŕescriptive right. I had rather disappoint the curiosity of my readers by conciseness, than disgust them with untruths. I have no ambition to be ranked among the Bruces and Chastelreux of the age. I shall therefore endeavour rather to improve the understanding of my reader with what I really know, than amuse him with stories of which my circumscribed situation rendered me necessarily ignorant. I never was at an Algerine marriage, but obtained some authentic information on the subject.

That extreme caution which separates the sexes in elder life, is also attached to the youth. In Algiers the young people never collect to dance, converse, or amuse themselves with the innocent gaieties of their age. Here are no theatres, balls, or concerts ; and even in the public duties of religion the sexes never assemble together. An Algerine courtship would be as disagreeable to the hale youth of New England, as a common bundling would be disgusting to the Mussulman. No opportunity is afforded to the young suitor to search for those nameless bewitching qualities and attentions which attach the American youth to his mistress, and form the basis of connubial bliss ; nor is the young Algerine permitted, by a thousand tender assiduities, to win the affections of the future partner of his life. His choice can be only directed by the rank or respectability of the father of his intended bride. He never sees her face until after the nuptial ceremony is performed, and even some days after she has been brought home to his own house. The old people frequently make the match, or, if it originates with the youth, he confides his wishes to his father or some respectable relation, who communicates the proposal to the lady's father. If he receives it favourably, the young couple are allowed to exchange some unmeaning messages, by an old nurse of the family. The bride's father or her next male kin with the bridegroom go before the *cadi*, and sign a contract of marriage, which is attested by the relatives on each side. The bridegroom then pays a stipulated sum to the bride's father ;

the nuptial ceremony is performed in private, and the bridegroom retires. After some days the bride is richly arrayed, accompanied by females, and conveyed in a covered coach or waggon, gaudy with flowers, to her husband's house. Here she is immediately immured in the women's apartments, while the bridegroom and his friends share a convivial feast. After some ceremonies, the nature of which I could not discover, the bridegroom enters the women's apartment, and for the first time discovers whether his wife has a nose or eyes. Among the higher ranks, it is said, the bride, after the expiration of a month, goes to the public bath for women, is there received with great parade, and loaded with presents by her female relations, assembled on the occasion. The bridegroom also receives presents from his friends.

Within a limited time the husband may break the contract, provided he will add another item to that already given, return his bride with all her paraphernalia, and, putting the holy Alcoran to his breast, assert that he never benefited himself of the rights of a husband.

Notwithstanding the apparent restraint the women are under, they are said to be attached to their husbands, and enjoy greater liberty than is generally conceived. I certainly saw many women in the streets so muffled up, and their outward garments so much alike, that their nearest relatives could not distinguish one from another. The vulgar slaves conjecture that the women take great liberties in this general disguise.

Their funerals are decent, but not ostentatious. I saw many. The corpse, carried up on a bier, is preceded by the priests chanting passages from the Alcoran in a dolorous tone. Wherever the procession passes the people join in this dirge. The relatives follow with the folds of their turbans loosened. The bodies of the rich are deposited in vaults, those of the poor in graves. A pillar of marble is erected over them, with an unblown rose carved on the top for the unmarried.

At certain seasons the women of the family join a procession in close habits, and proceed to the tomb or grave, and adorn it with garlands of flowers. When these processions pass, the slaves are obliged to throw themselves on the ground with their faces in the dust, and all, of whatever rank, cover their faces.

CHAP. LIV.

O prone to grovelling error, thus to quit
The firm foundations of a Saviour's love,
And build on stubble !

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

The Religion of the Algerines—Life of the Prophet Mahomet.

IN describing the religious tenets of the Algerines, the attention is immediately drawn to Mahomet, or Mahomed, the founder of their faith.

This fortunate impostor, like all other great characters in the drama of life, has been indignantly vilified by his opponents, and as ardently praised by his adherents. I shall endeavour to steer the middle course of impartiality ; neither influenced by the bigoted aversion of Sales and Prideaux, or the specious praise of the *philosophic* Boulavnulliers.

Mahomet was born in the 568th year of the Christian æra. He was descended from the Coreis, one of the noblest of the Arabian tribes. His father Abdalla was a man of moderate fortune, and bestowed upon his son such an education as a parent in confined, if not in impoverished, circumstances could confer. The Turks say he could not write, because they pride themselves in decrying letters, and because the pious among them suppose his ignorance of letters a sufficient evidence of the divine original of the book he published, as received from and written by the finger of Deity.

But when the Arabian authors record that he was employed as a factor by his uncle Abutaleb, there can little doubt remain but that he was possessed of all the literary acquirements necessary to accomplish him for his business. He has been stigmatized as a mere camel-driver. He had the direction of camels it is true. The merchandize of Arabia was transported to different regions by caravans of those useful animals, of a troop of which he was conductor ; but there was as much difference between his station and employment, and that of a common camel-driver, as between

the supercargo of an India ship in our days, and the seaman before the mast. In his capacity of factor, he travelled into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; and acquired the most useful knowledge in each country. He is represented as a man of a beautiful person and commanding presence. By his engaging manners and remarkable attention to business, he became the factor of a rich Arabian merchant, after whose death he married his widow, the beautiful Cadijah, and came into the lawful possession of immense wealth, which awakened in him the most unbounded ambition. By the venerable custom of his nation, his political career was confined to his own tribe; and the patriarchal being the prominent feature of the Arabian government, he could not hope to surmount the claims of elder families, even in his own tribe, the genealogies of which were accurately preserved. To be the founder and prophet of a new religion would secure a glorious pre-eminence, highly gratifying to his ambition, and not thwarting the pretensions of the tribes.

Mankind are apt to impute the most profound abilities to founders of religious systems, and other successful adventurers, when perhaps they owe their success more to a fortunate coincidence of circumstances, and their only merit is the sagacity to avail themselves of that 'tide in the affairs of men' which leads to wealth and honour. Perhaps there never was a conjuncture more favourable for the introduction of a new religion than that of which Mahomet availed himself. He was surrounded by Arian Christians, whose darling

creed is the unity of the Deity, and who had been persecuted by the Athenasians into an abhorrence of almost every other Christian tenet: by Jews, who had fled from the vindictive emperor Adrian, and who too wilfully blind to see the accomplishment of their prophecies in the person of our Saviour, in the midst of exile were ready to condemn those prophecies which had so long deluded them with a Messiah who never came: and by Pagans, whose belief in a plurality of gods made them the ready proselytes of any novel system; and the more wise of whom were disgusted with the gross absurdities of their own mythology. The system of Mahomet is said to have been calculated to attach all these. To gratify the Arian and the Jew, he maintained the unity of God; and, to please the Pagans, he adopted many of their external rites, as fastings, washings, &c. Certain it is, he spoke of Moses and the patriarchs as messengers from heaven, and that he declared Jesus Christ to be the true Messias, and the exemplary pattern of a good life—a sentiment critically expressing the Arian opinion. The stories of Mahomet's ~~having~~ retired to a cave with a monk and a Jew to compile his book, and falling into fits of the epilepsy, persuading his disciples that these fits were trances, in order to propagate his system more effectually, so often related by geography compilers, like the tales of Pope Joan and the nag's-head consecration of the English bishops, are fit only to amuse the vulgar. It is certain he secluded himself from company, and assumed an austerity of manners becoming the re-

former of a vicious world. In his retirement he commenced writing the Alcoran. His first proselytes were of his own family, the next of his near relatives. But the tribe of Corei were so familiar with the person and life of Mahomet that they despised his pretensions; and fearful lest what they styled his mad enthusiasm should bring a stigma upon their tribe, they first attempted to reason him out of his supposed delusion; and this failing they sought to destroy him. But a special messenger of heaven, who, Mahomet says, measured ten million furlongs at every step, informed him of their design, and he fled to Medina, the inhabitants of which city, being already prepossessed in favour of his doctrine, received him with great respect.*

He soon inspired them with the most implicit confidence in the divinity of his mission, and confirmed their faith by daily portions of the Alcoran, which he declared was written by the finger of God, and transmitted to him immediately from heaven by archangels, commissioned for that important purpose. He declared himself the *Sent of God*, the sword of his almighty power, ~~commissioned~~ commissioned to enforce the unity of the divine essence, the unchangeableness of his eternal decrees, the future bliss of true believers, and the torment of the damned among the nations. He boldly pro-

* This flight was in the 622d year of the Christian æra, when Mahomet was fifty-four years of age. The Mahometans of all sectaries commence their computation of time from this period, which they style the *hegira*, or flight.

nounced all those who died fighting in his cause to be entitled to the glory of martyrs in the heavenly paradise ; and, availing himself of some of the ancient feuds among the neighbouring tribes, caused his disciples in Medina to wage war upon their neighbours, whom they invariably conquered when he headed their troops. The tribe of Corei, flattered by the honours paid their kinsman, and confounded by the repeated reports of his victories, were soon proselyted, and became afterwards the most enthusiastic supporters of his power. In 627 he was crowned sovereign at Medina, like the divine Melchisedec uniting in his person the high titles of prophet and king. He subdued the greater part of Arabia, and obtained a respectable footing in Syria. He died at Medina in the year 633, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age. European writers, who have destroyed almost as many great personages by poison as the French have with the guillotine, have attributed his death to a dose administered by a monk. But when we consider his advanced age and public energies, we need not recur to any but natural means for the cause of his death.

*Yusuf the
King
of Seville
1722*

CHAP. LV.

See childish man, neglecting reason's law,
Contend for trifles, differ for a straw.

AUTHOR'S Manuscript Poems.

ARGUMENT.

The Sects of Omar and Ali.

UPON the decease of the prophet his followers were almost confounded. They could scarcely credit their senses. They fancied him only in a swoon, and waited in respectful silence until he should again rise to lead them to conquest and glory. His more confidential friends gathered around the corpse ; and, being impressed with the policy of immediately announcing his successor, they held a fierce debate upon the subject. In the Alcoran they found no direction for the election, nor any successor to the caliphate pointed out. They agreed to send for his wives and confidential domestics. The youngest of his wives produced some writings, containing the precious sayings of the prophet, which, she said she had collected for her own edification. To these were afterwards added such observations of the prophet as his more intimate associates could recollect, or the policy of those in power invent. These were annexed to the Alcoran, and esteemed of equal authority. This compilation was called the Book of the Companions of the Apostle. In the writings produced by his favourite

wife, the prophet had directed his great officers to elect his successor from among them, and assured them that a portion of his own power would rest upon him. Abubeker, a friend and relative, and successful leader of the forces of the prophet, by the persuasions of those around, immediately entered the public mosque ; and, standing on the steps of the desk from which the prophet used to deliver his oracles, he informed the multitude that God had indeed called the prophet to paradise, and that his kingly authority and apostolic powers rested upon him. To him succeeded Omar and Osman : while the troops in Syria, conceiving that Ali their leader was better entitled to succeed than either, elevated him also to the caliphate, though he refused the dignity until he was called by the voice of the people to succeed Osman. Hence sprang that great schism which has divided the Mussulman world ; but though divided as to the successor of the prophet, both parties were actuated by his principles and adhered to his creed. Omar and his successors turned their arms towards Europe ; and, under the name of Saracens or Moors, possessed themselves of the greater part of Spain and the Mediterranean isles ; while the friends of Ali, establishing themselves as sovereigns, made equal ravages upon Persia, and even to the great peninsula of India.

The Algerines are of the sect of Omar, which, like many other religious schisms, differs more in name than in any fundamental point of creed or practice from that of Ali. The propriety of the translation of the Alcoran into the Persian lan-

guage, and the succession of the caliphate, seem the great standards of their respective creeds.

CHAP. LVI.

Father of all ! in ev'ry age,
 In ev'ry clime ador'd,
 By saint, by savage, and by sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord !

POPE.

ARGUMENT.

The Faith of the Algerines.

THE Algerine doctors assert that the language of the Alcoran is so ineffably pure, it can never be rendered into any other tongue. To this they candidly impute the miserable vitiated translations of the Christians, whom they charge with having garbled the sacred book, and degraded its sublime allegories and metaphors into absurd tales. This is certain, the portions which I have heard chanted at funerals and quoted in conversation ever exhibited the purest morality and the sublimest conceptions of the Deity. The fundamental doctrine of the Alcoran is the unity of God. The evil spirit, says the Koran, is subtly deluding men into the belief that there are more gods than one, that in the confusion of deities he may obtain a share of devotion ; while the Supreme Being, pitying the delusions of man, has sent Abraham, Moses, Soliman,

breathed forth the Messiah of the Christian in a sigh of divine pity, and lastly sent Mahomet, the seal of the prophets, to reclaim men to this essential truth. The next fundamental points in the Mussulman creed are a belief in the eternal decrees of God, in a resurrection and final judgment to bliss or misery. Some hold with Christians that the future punishment will be infinite, while others suppose that, when the souls of the wicked are purified by fire, they will be received into the favour of God. They adhere to many other points of practical duty : such as daily prayers, frequent ablutions, acts of charity, and severe fastings ; that of Rhammadin is the principal, which is similar to the catholic Lent in abstinence, for the penitent abstains only from a particular kind of food, while he gluts himself with others perhaps more luscious. The Alcoran also forbids games of chance and the use of strong liquors ; inculcates a tenderness for idiots and a respect for age. The Book of the Companions of the Apostle enjoins a pilgrimage to his tomb, to be made by the true believers once at least in their lives ; but, though they view the authority which enjoined this tedious journey divine, yet they have contrived to evade its rigour by allowing the believer to perform it by proxy or attorney.

Upon the whole, there do not appear to be any articles in their faith which incite them to immorality, or can countenance the cruelties they commit. Neither their Alcoran nor their priests excite them to plunder, enslave, or torment. The former expressly recommends charity, justice, and

mercy, towards their fellow men. I would not bring the sacred volume of our faith in any comparative view with the Alcoran of Mahomet ; but I cannot help noticing it as extraordinary, that the Mahometan should abominate the Christian on account of his faith, and the Christian detest the Mussulman for his creed ; when the Koran of the former acknowledges the divinity of the Christian Messias, and the Bible of the latter commands us to love our enemies. If either would follow the obvious dictates of his own scripture, he would cease to hate, abominate, and destroy the other.

CHAP. LVII.

O Here ; quæ res
Nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione, modoque
Tractari non vult.

HOR. Sat. 3. Lib. ii.

ARGUMENT.

Why do not the powers in Europe suppress the Algerine Depredations ? is a Question frequently asked in the United States.

I ANSWER that this must be effected by a union of the European maritime powers with the grand seignior ; by a combination among themselves , or by an individual exertion of some particular state. A union of the European powers with the grand seignior most probably would be attended with

success ; but this is not to be expected ; as it never can be the interest of the Sublime Porte to suppress them, and the common faith of the Mussulman has more influence in uniting its professors than the creed of the Christian, to the disgrace of the *latter* : and, as the grand seignior's dominion over the Algerines is little more than nominal, he is anxious to conciliate their favour by affording them his protection ; considering prudently, that, though intractable, they are still a branch of the Mussulman stock. Provoked by their insults he has sometimes withdrawn his protection, as was the case when he, by treaty with the Venetians, permitted their fleet to enter the Ottoman ports, for the express purpose of destroying the Algerine galleys ; but it is obvious the Sublime Porte meant merely to chastise not to ruin them.

In the grand seignior's wars with the Europeans, the piratical states have rendered signal services, and he himself not unfrequently receives valuable douceurs for exerting his supposed influence over them in favour of one or another of the contending powers of Europe. In the siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards, during the late American war, that garrison received frequent supplies of provisions from the Barbary shore ; but, by the application of Lewis XVI. to the Sublime Porte, the grand seignior influenced the Barbary states to prohibit those supplies ; and the English consul was dismissed from one of them with the most pointed marks of contempt. While the grand seignior reaps such solid advantages from them, it is absurd to think of his co-operation against them ; neither

can a union with the European powers be more fully anticipated. Jealousy as often actuates mighty nations as weak individuals. Whoever turns over the pages of history attentively will there perceive that sordid passion is the impulse of action to the greatest states. Commercial states are also actuated by avarice—a passion still more baneful in its effects. These excite war, and are the grand plenipotentiaries in the adjustment of the articles of peace. Hence it is that, while every European power is solicitous to enrich and aggrandise itself, it can never join in any common project, the result of which, it is fearful, may benefit its neighbour ; and is content to suffer injury rather than its rival should share in a common good. Hence also it is that Christian states, instead of uniting to vindicate their insulted faith, join together the cross and crescent in unholy alliance, and form degrading treaties with piratical powers ; and, as the summit of political folly, present to those very powers, for the purchase of their friendship, weapons to annoy themselves in the first war that their avarice or caprice shall wage. Nay, should ever a confederacy of the European powers be formed against the Algerines, experience affords us but slender hopes of its success ; for I will venture to assert that, from the confederacy of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, when they went up to battle at Ramoth Gilead, to the treaty of Pilnitz, there never was yet a combination of princes or nations, who, by an actual union of their forces, attained the object of their coalition. If the political finger be pointed to the war of the allies of queen Anne and the

conquests of the duke of Marlborough, as an exception, I likewise will point to the distracting period when that conqueror was superseded by the duke of Ormond ; and the treaty of Utrecht will confirm the opinion I have advanced.

The detail of the history of the Algerines evinces that the arms of individual states can be attended with no decisive success. Indeed the expense of an efficacious armament would defray the price of the dey's friendship for years ; and the powers of Europe submit to his insults and injuries from a principle of economy. An absolute conquest of the Algerine territory cannot be erected but by invasion from the interior, through the co-operation of the grand seignior or the assistance of the other Barbary states. The former, I have shown, cannot be expected ; and the latter, for obvious reasons, is as little to be thought of. A permanent conquest of the city and port of Algiers cannot be effected without the subjection of the interior country. Temporary though spirited attacks upon that city and port have never answered any salutary purpose. They may be compared to the destruction of our sea-ports in our revolutionary war. The port attacked bore so small a proportion to the whole, that its destruction rather served to irritate than to weaken or subjugate. It should be considered likewise that the houses of the Algerines are built of slight and cheap materials ; that upon the approach of an enemy the rich effects of the inhabitants are easily removed in-land, while nothing remains but heavy fortifications to batter, and buildings which can be readily restored to

destroy. The following anecdote will show how sensible the Algerines themselves are of these advantages. When the French vice-admiral, the marquis de Quesne, made his first attack on Algiers, he sent an officer with a flag on shore, who magnified the force of his commander, and threatened to lay the city in ashes if the demands of the marquis were not immediately complied with. The dey, who had, upon the first approach of the enemy, removed the aged, the females, and his richest effects, coolly inquired of the officer how much the levelling his city to ashes would cost. The officer, thinking to increase the dey's admiration of the power of the grand monarque, answered, two millions of livres. Tell your commander, said the dey, if he will send me half the money I will burn the city to ashes myself.

CHAP. LVIII.

A pattern fit for modern knights
To copy out in frays and fights.

HUDIBRAS.

ARGUMENT.

An Algerine Law-Suit.

AN officer of police parades the city at uncertain hours and in all directions, accompanied by an executioner and other attendants. The process of his court is entirely verbal. He examines into all breaches of the customs, all frauds, especially

In weights and measures, all sudden affrays, disputes concerning personal property, and compels the performance of contracts. He determines causes on the spot, and the delinquent is punished in his presence. The usual punishments he inflicts are fines, beating on the soles of the feet, dismemberment of the right hand ; and it is said he has a power of taking life : but in such cases an appeal lies to the dey. If complaint is made to him of the military, the priests or officers of the court, navy, or customs, or against persons attached to the families of the consuls, envoys, or other representatives of foreign powers, upon suggestion, the cause is immediately reported to the dey, who hears the same in person, or deputes some officer of rank to determine it, either from the civil, military, or religious orders, as the nature of the cause may require. In fact, this officer of police seldom judges any cause of great importance. The object of his commission seems to be the detection and punishment of common cheats, and to suppress broils among the vulgar ; and, as he has the power to adapt the punishment to the enormity of the offence, he often exercises it capriciously, and sometimes ludicrously. I saw a baker who, for selling bread under weight, was sentenced to walk the public market three times each day, for three days in succession, with a small loaf attached by a ring to each of his ears ; and to cry aloud, at short distances, ‘ *Bread for the poor !* ’ This excited the resentment of the rabble, who followed him with abundance of coarse ridicule. Besides this itinerant judge,

there are many others who never meddle with suits unless they are brought formally before them, which is done by mere verbal complaint ; they send for the parties and witnesses, and determine almost as summarily as the officer of police. I confess that, when I left the United States, the golden fee, the long bill of cost, the law's delay, and the writings of Honestus, had taught me to view the judicial proceedings of our country with a jaundiced eye ; and, when I was made acquainted with the Algerine mode of distributive justice, I yearned to see a cause determined in a court where instant decision relieved the anxiety and saved the purses of the parties, and where no long-winded attorney was suffered to perplex the judge with subtle argument or musty precedent. I was soon delighted with an excellent display of summary justice. Observing a collection of people upon a piazza, I leaned over the rails, and discovered that an Algerine cadi or judge had just opened his court. The cadi was seated cross-legged on a cushion with a slave, with a whip and batten on one side ; and another with a drawn scimeter on the other. The plaintiff came forward and told his story. He charged a man who was in custody with having sold him a mule, which he said was sound, but which proved blind and lame. Several witnesses were then called, who proved the contract and the defects of the mule. The defendant was then called upon for his defence. He did not deny the fact, but pleaded the law of retaliation. He said he was a good Mus-sulman, performed all the rites of their holy

religion, had sent a proxy to the prophet's tomb at Medina, and maintained an idiot ; that he never cheated any man before, but was justified in what he had done, for, ten years before, the plaintiff had cheated him worse in the sale of a dromedary, which proved broken-winded. He proved this by several witnesses, and the plaintiff could not deny it. The judge immediately ordered the mule and the money paid for it to be produced. He then directed his attendants to seize the defendant, and give him fifty blows on the soles of his feet for this fraud. The plaintiff at every stroke applauded the *cadi's* justice to the skies ; but no sooner was the punishment inflicted, than, by a nod from the judge, the exulting plaintiff was seized, and received the same number of blows with the batten for the old affair of the broken-winded dromedary. The parties were then dismissed without costs, and the judge ordered an officer to take the mule, sell it at public outcry, and distribute the product, with the money deposited, in alms to the poor. The officer proceeded a few steps with the mule, and I thought the court had risen, when the *cadi*, supposing one of the witnesses had prevaricated in his testimony, called back the officer who had charge of the mule, ordered the witness to receive twenty-five blows of the batten, and be mounted on the back of the mule with his face towards the tail, and be thus carried through the city, directing the mule to be stopped at every corner, where the culprit should exclaim—' Before the enlightened; excellent, just, and merciful *cadi*, Mir Kar-

chan, in the trial of Osman Beker and Abu Isoul, I spake as I ride.' The people around magnified Mir Karchan for this exemplary justice, and I present it to my fellow-citizens. If it is generally pleasing it may be easily introduced among us. Some obstinate people may be still attached to our customary modes of dispensing justice and think that the advocates we fee, and the precedents they quote, are but guards and enclosures round our judges, to prevent them from capriciously invading the rights of the citizens.

CHAP. LIX.

And though they say the *Lord liveth*, surely they swear falsely.

JEREMIAH.

ARGUMENT.

A Mahometan Sermon.

I ONCE had an opportunity of approaching unnoticed the window of one of the principal mosques. After the customary prayers, the priest pronounced the following discourse with a dignified elocution. It was received by his audience with a reverence better becoming Christians than infidels. It undoubtedly suffers from translation, and the fickleness of my memory; but the manner in which it was delivered, and the energy of many of the expressions, made so strong an impression,

that I think I have not materially varied from the sentiment. I present it to the candid reader, as a curious specimen of their pulpit eloquence; and as perhaps conveying a more satisfactory idea of their creed than I have already attempted in the account I have given of their religion. The attributes of Deity were the subject of the priest's discourse; and, after some exordium, he elevated his voice and exclaimed:—

GOD ALONE IS IMMORTAL! Ibrahim and Soliman have slept with their fathers; Cadijah the first-born of faith, Ayesha the beloved, Omar the meek, Omri the benevolent, the companions of the apostle and the Sent of God himself, all died; but God, most high, most holy, liveth for ever. Infinities are to him as the numerals of arithmetic to the sons of Adam: the earth shall vanish before the decrees of his eternal destiny; but he liveth and reigneth for ever

GOD ALONE IS OMNISCIENT! Michael, whose wings are full of eyes, is blind before him. The dark night is unto him as the rays of the morning; for he noticeth the creeping of the small pismire in the dark night upon the black stone, and apprehendeth the motion of an atom in the open air.

GOD ALONE IS OMNIPRESENT! He toucheth the immensity of space as a point. He moveth in the depths of ocean, and mount Atlas is hidden by the sole of his foot. He breatheth fragrant odours to cheer the blessed in paradise, and enliveneth the pallid flame in the profoundest hell.

GOD ALONE IS OMNIPOTENT! He thought, and worlds were created; he frowneth, and they dis-

solve into thin smoke ; he smileth, and the torments of the damned are suspended. The thundrings of Hermon are the whisperings of his voice ; the rustling of his attire causeth lightning and an earthquake ; and with the shadow of his garment he blotteth out the sun.

GOD ALONE IS MERCIFUL ! When he forged his immutable decrees on the anvil of eternal wisdom, he tempered the miseries of the race of Ismael in the fountains of pity. When he laid the foundations of the world, he cast a look of benevolence into the abysses of futurity ; and the adamantine pillars of eternal justice were softened by the beamings of his eyes. He dropped a tear upon the embryo miseries of unborn man ; and that tear, falling through the immeasurable lapses of time, shall quench the glowing flames of the bottomless pit. He sent his prophet into the world to enlighten the darkness of the tribes ; and hath prepared the pavilions of the houri for the repose of the true believers.

GOD ALONE IS JUST ! He chains the latent cause to the distant event ; and binds them both immutably fast to the fitness of things. He decreed the unbeliever to wander amidst the whirlwinds of error ; and suited his soul to future torment. He promulgated the ineffable creed ; and the germs of countless souls of believers, which existed in the contemplation of Deity, expanded at the sound. His justice refresheth the faithful, while the damned spirits confess it in despair.

GOD ALONE IS ONE ! Ibrahim the faithful knew it ; Moses declared it amidst the thunder-

ings of Sinai ; Jesus pronounced it ; and the messenger of God, the sword of his vengeance, filled the world with immutable truth.

Surely there is one GOD, IMMORTAL, OMNISCIENT, OMNIPRESENT, OMNIPOTENT, most MERCIFUL, and JUST ; and Mahomet is his apostle !

Lift your hands to the eternal, and pronounce the ineffable adorable creed : THERE IS ONE GOD AND MAHOMET IS HIS PROPHET !

CHAP. LX.

For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.

SHAKSPEARE.

Of the Jews.

I HAVE thus given some succinct notices of the history, government, religion, habits, and manners, of this ferocious race. I have interspersed reflexions which I hope will be received by the learned with candour ; and shall now resume the thread of my more appropriate narrative.

By unremitted attention to the duties of my office, and some fortunate operations in surgery, I had now so far ingratiated myself with the director and physicians of the infirmary, that I was allowed to be absent any hours of the day when my business in the hospital permitted, without rendering any special reason for my absence. I wandered into all parts of the city where strangers were per-

mitted to walk, inspected every object I could without giving umbrage. I sometimes strayed into that quarter of the city principally inhabited by Jews. This cunning race, since their dispersion by Vespasian and Titus, have contrived to compensate themselves for the loss of Palestine "by engrossing the wealth, and often the luxuries, of every other land; and, wearied with the expectation of that heavenly king," who shall re-possess them of the holy city, and put their enemies beneath their feet, now solace themselves with a Messiah whose glory is enshrined in their coffers. Rigidly attached to their own customs, intermarrying among themselves, content to be apparently wretched and despised, that they may wallow in secret wealth; and secluded in most countries from holding landed property, and in almost all from filling offices of power and profit, they are generally received as meet instruments to do the mean drudgery of despotic courts. The wealth which would render a subject too powerful, the despot can trust with an unambitious Jew; and confide secrets which involve his own safety to a miserable Israelite, whom he can annihilate with a nod. The Jews transact almost all the dey's private business, besides that of the negotiations of merchants. Nay, if an envoy from a foreign power comes to treat with the dey, he may have the parade of a public audience; but if he wishes to accomplish his embassy, he must employ a Jew; and it is said the dey himself shares with the Jew the very sums paid him for his influence with this politic despot. The Jews are also the spies of the dey upon his

subjects at home, and the channels of intelligence from foreign powers. They are therefore allowed to assemble in their synagogues ; and have frequently an influence at the court of the dey, with his great officers, and even before the civil judge, not to be accounted for from the morality of their conduct. Popular prejudice is generally against them ; and the dey often avails himself of it by heavy amercements for his protection. In the year 1690, he threatened to extirpate the whole race in his dominions, and was finally appeased by a large contribution they raised and offered as an expiation of a supposed offence. It was commonly reported, that the Jews in Algiers at that time had procured a Christian child, which they privately purified with much ceremony, fattened, and prepared for a sacrifice at their feasts of the passover, as a substitute for the paschal lamb. This horrid tale, which should have been despised for its absurdity and inhumanity, the dey affected to credit. He appointed several Mahometan priests to search the habitations of the Jews immediately before the feast of the passover, who, discovering some bitter herbs and other customary preparations for the festival, affected to have found sufficient evidence against them ; and the mob of Algiers, mad with rage and perhaps inflamed by the usurious exactions of particular Jews, rushed on furiously to pillage and destroy the wretched descendants of Jacob. Two houses were demolished, and several Jews assassinated, before the arrival of the dey's guards, who quickly dispersed this outrageous rabble. The dey, who desired

nothing less than the destruction of so useful a people, was soon appeased by a large present, and declared them innocent : and such is the power of a despotic government, that the Jews were soon received into general favour ; and the very men who, the day before, proceeded to destroy the whole race, now saw with tame inaction several of their fellows executed for the attempt.

CHAP. LXI.

But endless is the tribe of human ills,
And sighs might sooner cease than cause to sigh.
YOUNG.

ARGUMENT.

The Arrival of other American Captives.

RETURNING from a jaunt into the city, I was immediately commanded to retire to my room, and not to quit it till further orders, which it was impracticable to do, as the doors were fastened upon me. The next morning my provisions were brought to me, and the doors again carefully secured. Surprised at this imprisonment, I passed many restless hours in recurring to my past conduct, and perplexing myself in searching for some inadvertent offence, or in dreadful apprehension lest the present imprisonment should be a prelude to future and more severe punishment. The stone quarry came to my imagination in all its horrors,

and the frowns of Abdel Melic again pierced my soul. I attempted in vain to obtain from the slave who brought me provisions the cause of my confinement. He was probably ignorant: my solicitations were uniformly answered by a melancholy shake of the head. The next day the director of the hospital appeared. To him I applied with great earnestness; but all the information he would give was, that it was by the dey's order I was confined; and that he, with the physicians and my friend the mollah, were using all their influence to obtain my release. He counselled me to amuse myself in preparing and compounding drugs, and promised to see me again as soon as he could bring any good news. About a week after an officer of the court, with a city judge, entered my apartment, and informed me of the cause of my imprisonment. From them I learned that several American vessels had been captured; and it was suspected I had been conversing with my countrymen; and, from my superior knowledge of the country, I might advise them how to escape. If a man is desirous to know how he loves his country, let him go far from home; if to know how he loves his countrymen, let him be with them in misery in a strange land. I wish not to make a vain display of my patriotism, but I will say that my own misfortunes upon this intelligence were so absorbed in those of my unfortunate fellow citizens, thus delivered over to chains and torment, many of them perhaps separated from the tenderest domestic connexions and homes of ease, that I thought I could again have willingly endured

the lashes of the slave-driver, and sink myself beneath the burthens of slavery, to have saved them from an Algerine captivity. I could readily assure the dey's officers that I had not conversed with my miserable countrymen ; but, while I spake, the idea of embracing a fellow citizen, a brother Christian, perhaps some one who came from the same state, or had been in the same town, or seen my dear parents, passed in rapid succession, and I was determined, betide what would, to seek them the first opportunity. We were soon joined by the mollah, who repeatedly assured my examiners, that, though an infidel, I might be believed. By his solicitation I was to be released ; but not until I would bind myself by a solemn oath, administered after the Christian manner, that I would never speak to any of the American slaves. When this oath was proposed, I doubted whether to take it ; but recollecting that, if I did not, I should be equally debarred from seeing them, and suffer a grievous confinement, which could do them no service, I consented, and bound myself never directly or indirectly to attempt to visit or converse with my fellow citizens in slavery. It was at the same time intimated to me, that for the breach of this oath I might expect to be impaled alive.—Often when I have drawn near the places of their confinement and labours, I have regretted my submitting to this oath, and once was almost tempted to break it, at seeing captain O'Brien at some distance.

CHAP. LXII.

Now, by my hood, a Gentile and no Jew.

SHAKSPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author commences Acquaintance with Adonah Ben Benjamin, a Jew.

AFTER I had taken this oath the officers departed, and I was liberated. I was now more cautious in my rambles, avoided the notice of the Musulmen inhabitants, and made more frequent visits to that part of the city inhabited by Jews and foreigners. Refreshing myself with a glass of sherbet in an inferior room, I was accosted by an old man in mean attire, with a pack of handkerchiefs and some remnants of silk and muslins on his back. He asked me if I was not the learned slave, and requested me to visit a sick son. I immediately resolved to go with him ; rejoicing that Providence, in my low estate, had left me the power to be charitable. We traversed several streets, and stopped at the door of a house which, in appearance, well suited my conductor. It had but two windows towards the street, and those were closed up with rough boards, the cracks of which were stuffed with rags and straw. My conductor looked very cautiously about, and then, taking a key from his pocket, opened the door. We passed a dark entry, and I confess I shuddered as the door closed upon me, reflecting that perhaps this

man was employed to decoy me to some secret place, in order to assassinate me by the direction of my superiors, who might wish to destroy me in this secret manner. But I had but little time for these gloomy reflexions ; for opening another door I was startled with a blaze of light let into apartments splendidly furnished. My conductor now assumed an air of importance, requested me to repose myself on a silken couch, and retired. A young lady who was veiled, of a graceful person and pleasing address, soon brought a plate of sweetmeats and a bottle of excellent wine. The old man soon re-appeared ; but so changed in his habit and appearance, I could scarce recognize him. He was now arrayed in drawers of the finest linen, an embroidered vest, and loose gown of the richest Persian silk. He smiled at my surprise, shook me by the hand, and told me that he was a Jew ; assuring me that he was with his brethren under the protection of the dey. The outward appearance of his house and the meanness of his attire abroad were, he said, necessary, to avoid envy and suspicion. But come, said he, I know all about you ; I can confide in you. Come, refresh yourself with a glass of this wine ;—neither Moses nor your Messiah forbid the use of it. We ate of the collation, drank our wine liberally, and then he introduced me to his son, whom I found laboring under a violent ague. I administered some sudorifics, and left directions for the future treatment of my patient. Upon my departure, the Jew put a sequin into my hand, and made me promise to visit his son again ; request-

ing me to seat myself in the place he had found me in at the same hour the next day but one afterwards ; and, in passing through the dark entry, conjured me not to mention his domestic style of living. The name of this Jew was Adonah Ben Benjamin. I visited his son according to appointment, and found him nearly restored to health. The father and son both expressed great gratitude ; but the former told me he would not pay me for this visit in silver or gold, but with something more valuable, by his advice. Come and see me sometimes ; I know this people well, and may render you more service than you expect. I afterwards visited this Jew frequently, and from him obtained much information. He told me, in much confidence, that soon after I was taken, a Jew and two Algerines made a tour of the United States, and sent home an accurate account of the American commerce ; and that the dey was so impressed with the idea of our wealth, that he would never permit the American slaves to be ransomed under a large premium, which must be accompanied with the usual presents, as a purchase of peace, and an annual tribute. Expressing my anxiety to recover my freedom, he advised me to write to some of the American agents in Europe. I accordingly addressed a letter to William Carmichael, esq. *charge des affaires* from the United States at the court of Madrid, representing my deplorable circumstances and the miserable state of my fellow prisoners, praying the interference of our government, stating the probable mode of access to the dey, and enclos-

ing a letter to my parents. This my friend the Jew promised to convey ; but as I never received any answer from Mr. Carmichael, and my letters never found the way to my friends, I conclude, from the known humanity of that gentleman, my letters miscarried.

Some time after I heard that the United States had made application, through Mr Lamb, for the redemption of their citizens, and I had hopes of liberty ; intending, if that gentleman succeeded in his negotiations, to claim my right to be ransomed as an American citizen ; but his proposals were scouted with contempt. I have sometimes heard this gentleman censured for failing to accomplish the object of his mission ; but very unjustly, as I well remember that I, who was much interested in his success, never blamed him at the time ; and I know the ransom he offered the dey was ridiculed in the common coffee-houses as extremely pitiful. The few Algerines I conversed with affected to represent it as insulting. It was reported that he was empowered to offer only two hundred dollars per head for each prisoner indiscriminately, when the common price was four thousand dollars per head for a captain of a vessel, and one thousand four hundred for a common foremast sailor. When this unsuccessful attempt failed, the prisoners were treated with greater severity ; doubtless with a design to affright the Americans into terms more advantageous to the dey.

Finding my hopes of release from the applications of my country to fade, I consulted the friendly Jew, who advised me to endeavour to pay my

own ransom, which he said might be effected with my savings from my practice by the mediation of a rich Jew, his relation. I accordingly put all my savings into Adonah Ben Benjamin's hands, which amounted to two hundred and eighty dollars, and resolved to add to it all I could procure. To this intent I hoarded up all I could obtain; denying myself the slender refreshments of bathing, and cooling liquors, to which I had been for some time accustomed. The benevolent Hebrew having promised that, when I had attained the sum requisite, within two or three hundred dollars, he would himself advance the remainder, no miser was ever more engaged than I was to increase my store. After a tedious interval my prospects brightened surprisingly. Some fortunate operations which I performed obtained me valuable presents; one to the amount of fifty dollars. My stock in the Jew's hands had increased to nine hundred dollars; and to add to my good fortune the Jew told me in great confidence, that, from the pleasing account of the United States which I had given him—for I always spake of the privileges of my native land with fervour—he was determined to remove with his family thither. He said he would make up the deficiency in my ransom, and send me home by the first European vessel, with letters to a Mr. Lopez, a Jew, who, he said, lived in Rhode Island or Massachusetts, to whom he had a recommendation from a relation who had been in America. To Mr. Lopez he intended to consign his property. He accordingly procured his friend, whose name I did not then

learn, to agree about my ransom. He concluded the contract at two thousand dollars. My friends in the hospital expressed sorrow at parting with me ; and making me some pecuniary presents, I immediately added them to my stock in the hands of the Jew. In order to lessen the price of my ransom, the contractor had told my master that he was to advance the money, and take my word to remit it upon my return to my friends. This story I confirmed. I went to the Jew's house, who honestly produced all my savings ; we counted them together, and he added the remainder, tying the money up in two large bags. We spent a happy hour over a bottle of his best wine ; I in anticipating the pleasure my parents and friends would receive in recovering their son who was lost, and the Jew in framing plans of commerce in the United States, and in the enjoyment of his riches in a country where no despot should force from him his honest gains ; and what added to my enjoyment was the information that a vessel was to sail for Gibraltar in two days, in which he assured me he would procure me a passage. I returned to the hospital, exulting in my happy prospects. I was quite beside myself with joy. I capered and danced as merrily as my youthful acquaintance at a husking. Sometimes I would be lost in thought, and then burst suddenly into loud laughter. The next day, towards evening, I hastened to the house of my friend the Jew, to see if he had engaged my passage, and to gratify myself with conversing upon my native land. Being intimate in the family, I was entrusted with a

key of the front door. I opened it hastily, and, passing the entry, knocked for admittance at the inner door, which was soon opened; but, instead of the accustomed splendor, all was gloomy—the windows darkened, and the family in tears: poor Adonah Ben Benjamin had that morning been struck with an apoplexy, and slept with his fathers. I soon retired, as sincere a mourner as the nearest kindred. I had indeed more reason to mourn than I conceived; for, upon applying to his son for his assistance in perfecting my freedom, which his good father had so happily begun, he professed the utmost ignorance of the whole transaction; declared that he did not know the name of the agent his father had employed, and gave no credit to my account of the monies I had lodged with his father. I described the bags. He coolly answered, that the God of his father Abraham had blessed his father Adonah with many such bags. I left him, distracted with my disappointment. Sometimes I determined to relate the whole story to the director of the hospital, and apply for legal redress to a *cadi*; but the specimen I had of an Algerine law-suit deterred me. I had been so inadvertent as to countenance the story that a Jew was to advance the whole sum for me. If I had been a Mussulman I might have attested to my story; but a slave is never admitted as an evidence in Algiers, the West Indies, or the Southern States. The disappointment of my hopes were soon known in the hospital, though the hand of Adonah Ben Benjamin had in the contract remained a secret. The artful Jew who

had contracted for my ransom, fearing he should have to advance the money himself, spread a report that I was immensely rich in my own country. This coming to the ears of my master he raised my ransom to six thousand dollars, which the wily Israelite declining to pay, the contract was dissolved. From my master I learned his name, and waited upon him, hoping to obtain some evidence of Adonah's having received my money, at least so far as to induce his son to restore it. But the Jew positively declared that Adonah never told him other than that he was to advance the cash himself. Thus, from the brightest hopes of freedom, I was reduced to despair, my money lost, and my ransom raised. I bless a merciful God that I was preserved from the desperate folly of suicide. I never attempted my life ; but when I lay down I often hoped that I might never awake again in this world of misery. I grew dejected, and my flesh wasted. The physicians recommended a journey into the country, which my master approved ; for, since the report of my wealth in my native land, he viewed my life as valuable to him, as he doubted not but my friends would one day ransom me at an exorbitant premium.

CHAP. LXIII.

No gentle breathing breeze prepares the spring ;
No birds within the desert regions sing.

PHILIPS.

ARGUMENT.

The Author, by Permisson of his Master, travels to Medina, the Burial-Place of the Prophet Mahomet.

THE director soon after proposed that I should attend some merchants as a surgeon in a voyage and journey to Medina, which is the burial, as Mecca is the birth place of the prophet Mahomet ; assuring me that I should be treated with respect, and indeed find some agreeable companions on the tour, as several of the merchants were infidels like myself, and that any monies I might acquire by itinerant practice should be my own. I accepted this proposal with pleasure, and was soon leased to two Mussulman merchants, who gave a kind of bond for my safe return to my master. I had cash advanced me to purchase medicines and a case of surgeon's instruments, which I was directed to stow in a large leather wallet. I took a kind leave of my patrons in the hospital, who bestowed many little presents of sweetmeats, dates, and oranges. I waited upon the good mollah, who presented me with fifty dollars. I have charity to believe that this man, though an apostate, was sincere in his faith in the

Mahometan creed. He pressed my hand at parting, gave me many salutary cautions as to my conduct during the voyage ; and said, while the tears started in his eyes, my friend, you have suffered much misfortune and misery in a short life ; let me conjure you not to add the torments of the future to the miseries of the present world. But, added he, pausing, who shall alter the decrees of God ? I flatter myself that the scales of natal prejudice will yet fall from your eyes, and that your name has been numbered among the faithful from all eternity.

Our company consisted of two Algerine merchants or factors, twenty pilgrims, nine Jews, among whom was the son of my deceased friend Adonah, and two Greek traders from Chios, who carried with them several bales of silks and a quantity of mastic, to vend at Scandaroon, Grand Cairo, and Medina. We took passage in a xebec ; and, coasting the African shore, soon passed the ruins of ancient Carthage, the Bay of Tunis ; and, weathering Cape Bona and steering southeasterly, one morning hove in sight of the island of Malta, inhabited by the knights of that name, who are sworn enemies of the Mahometan faith. I could perceive that the sight of this island gave a sensible alarm to the crew and passengers : but the captain, or rather the skipper, who was a blustering rough renegado, affected great courage, and swore that if he had but one cannon on board he would run down and give a broadside to the infidel dogs. His bravery was soon put to the test ; for, as the sun arose, we could discern plain-

ly an armed vessel bearing down upon us. She overhauled us fast, and our skipper conjectured she bore the Maltese colours. All hands were now summoned to get out some light sails, and several oars were put out, at which the brave skipper tugged as lustily as the meanest of us. When the wind lulled, and we gained of the vessel, he would run on the quarters of the xebec, and hollow—‘Come on you Christian dogs, I am ready for you!’ I have some doubts whether the vessel ever noticed us: if she did she despised us; for she tacked and stood to the south-west. This was no sooner perceived by our gallant commander, than he ordered the xebec to lay to, and swore that he would pursue the uncircumcised dogs and board them; but he first would prudently ask the approbation of the passengers, who instantly determined one and all that their business was such that they must insist upon the captain’s making his best way to port. The captain consented, but not without much grumbling at his misfortune in losing so fine a prize; and declared that, when he had landed his passengers, he would directly quit the port and renew the chase. After a smart run we dropt anchor in the port of Alexandria, called by the Turks Scandaroon. This is the site of the ancient Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great; though its present appearance would not induce an opinion of so magnificent a founder. It lies not far from the westernmost branch of the river Nile, by which, in ancient days, it was supplied with water. The antiquarian eye may possibly observe, in the scattered fragments of rocks,

the vestiges of the ruins of its ancient grandeur ; but a vulgar traveller, from the appearance of the harbour choked with sand, the miserable buildings and more wretched inhabitants of the town, would not be led to conclude that this was the port which rose triumphant on the ruins of Tyre and Carthage. We here hired camels ; and being joined by a number of pilgrims and traders, collected from various parts of the Levant, we proceeded towards Grand Cairo, the present capital of Egypt ; and after travelling three days or rather three nights—for we generally reposed in the heat of the day, which is severe from one hour after the sun's rising until it sets—we came to a pretty town on the west bank of the Nile, called Gize, and hence passed over on rafts to the city of Grand Cairo, called by the Turks Almizer, the suburbs of which extend to the river ; but the principal town commences its proper boundaries at about three miles east of the Nile. I was now within a comparatively short distance of two magnificent curiosities which I had ever been desirous of beholding : the city of Jerusalem was only about five days journey to the south-east, and I had even caught a glimpse of the pyramids near Gize. I went with my masters and others to see a deep stoned pit in the castle, called Joseph's well, and said to have been dug by the direction of that patriarch. I am not antiqarian enough to know the particular style of architecture of Joseph's well ; but the water was sweet and extremely cold. The Turks say that Potiphar's wife did not cease to persecute Joseph with her

love after he was released from prison and advanced to power ; but that the patriarch was warned by a dream to dig this well, and invite her to drink of the water, which she had no sooner done, than one cup of it so effectually cooled her desires, that she was ever afterwards an eminent example of the most frigid chastity. In Grand Cairo we were joined by many pilgrims from Palestine and the adjacent countries. The third day our caravan, which consisted of three hundred camels and dromedaries, set out for Medina under the convoy of a troop of Mamaluke guards, a tawny, raw-boned, ill clothed people. Some of the merchants and even pilgrims made a handsome appearance in person, dress, and equipage. I was myself well mounted upon a camel, and carried with me only my leather wallet of drugs, which I dispensed freely among the pilgrims ; my masters receiving the ordinary pay, while I collected many small sums, which the gratitude of my patients added to the usual fee. We passed near the north arm of the Red Sea, and then pursued our journey south until we struck the same arm again, near the place where the learned Wortley Montague has concluded that the Israelites, under the conduct of Moses, effected their passage. The breadth of the sea here is great, and the waters deep and turbulent. The infidel may sneer if he chooses ; but, for my own part, I am convinced beyond a doubt, that, if the Israelites passed in this place, it must have been by the miraculous interposition of a divine power. I could not refrain from reflecting upon the infatuated temerity

which impelled the Egyptian king to follow them. Well does the Latin poet exclaim—*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat!* We then travelled east until we came to a small village called Tadah. Here we filled many goat-skins with water, and laded our camels with them. In addition to my wallet I received two goat-skins or bags of water upon my camel. The weight this useful animal will carry is astonishing; and the facility and promptitude with which he kneels to receive his rider and burden surprising. We now entered the confines of Arabia Petrea, very aptly denominated the Rocky Arabia; for, journeying south-east, we passed over many ridges of mountains which appeared of solid rocks, while the vallies and plains between them were almost a quicksand. Not a tree, shrub, or vegetable, is to be seen. In these vallies the sun poured intolerable day, and its reflections from the land were insupportable. No refreshing breeze is here felt. The intelligent traveller often fears the rising of the wind, which blows such sultry gales that man and beast often sink beneath them, “never to rise again,” or, when agitated into a tempest, drive the sand with such tumultuous violence as to overwhelm whole caravans. Such indeed were the stories told me as I passed these dreary plains. The only inconvenience I sustained arose from the intense heat of the sun, and the chills of the night which our thin garments were not calculated to exclude. On the third day after we left Tadah, the water which we transported on our camels was nearly expended. These extraordinary animals

had not drank but once since our departure. Near the middle of the fourth day, I observed our camels snuff the air, and soon set off in a brisk trot, and just before night brought us to water. This was contained in only one deep well, dug like a reversed pyramid, with steps to descend on every side to the depth of one hundred feet; yet the sagacity of the camel had discovered this water at perhaps twenty miles' distance. So my fellow travellers asserted; but I have since thought, whether these camels, from frequently passing this desert country, did not discover their approach to water rather from the eye noting familiar objects than the actual scenting the water itself. A horse that has journeyed the whole day will quicken his step at night, upon a familiar road, within some miles of an accustomed stable. Our escort delighted in the marvellous. Many a dreadful story did they tell of poisonous winds and overwhelming sands; and of the fierce wandering Arabs, who captured whole caravans and ate their prisoners. Many a bloody battle had they fought with this cruel banditti, in which, according to their narratives, they always came off conquerors. Frequently were we alarmed, to be in readiness to combat these savage free-booters; though I never saw but two of the wild Arabs in the whole of our journey. They joined us at a little village east of Islamboul, and accosted us with great civility. They were dressed in blue frocks, girded round the waste with party-coloured sashes, in which were stuck a pistol and a long knife. Their legs were bare, and sheep-skin caps covered their heads.

Their complexions were sallow, but their garments and persons were clean. Indeed their dress and address evinced them to be of a more civilized race than our guards, who affected to treat them with lofty hauteur ; and when they departed assured us that they were spies, and that an attack from their countrymen might now be apprehended with certainty ; if, said the leader of our escort, they are not terrified by finding you under our protection.

CHAP. LXIV.

Procul ! O procul ! est profani.

VIRGIL.

ARGUMENT.

*The Author is blessed with the Sight and Touch of
a most holy Mahometan Saint.*

WHEN we were within one day's journey of Medina, we halted for a longer time than usual ; occasioned, as I found, by the arrival of a most holy saint. As I had never seen a saint, being bread in a land where even the relics of these holy men are not preserved—for I believe all New-England cannot produce so much as a saint's rotten tooth or toe-nail—I was solicitous to see and converse with this blessed personage. I soon discovered him in the midst of about fifty pilgrims, some of whom were devoutly touching their fore-

heads with the hem of his garment, while others still more devout prostrated themselves on the ground, and kissed the prints of his footsteps in the sand. Though I was assured that he was filled with divine love, and conferred felicity on all who touched him, yet to outward appearance he was the most disgusting contemptible object I had ever seen. Figure to yourselves, my readers, a little decrepit old man, made shorter by stooping, with a countenance which exhibited a vacant stare, his head bald, his finger and toe-nails as long as hawks' claws, his attire filthy, his face, neck, arms, and legs begrimed with dirt and swarming with vermin, and you will have some faint idea of this mussulman saint. As I was too reasonable to expect that holiness existed in a man's exterior, I waited to hear him speak; anticipating from his lips the profoundest wisdom, delivered in the honeyed accents of the saints in bliss. At length he spake; and his speech betrayed him a mere idiot. While this astonished me, it raised the respect of his admirers, who estimated his sanctity in an inverse ratio to the strength of his intellects. If they could have ascertained that he was born an idiot, I verily believe they would have adored him; for the Mahometans are taught by their Alcoran, that the souls of saints are often lodged in the bodies of idiots; and these pious souls being so intent on the joys of paradise is the true reason that the actions of their bodies are so little suited to the manners of this world. This saint, however, did not aspire to the sanctity of a genuine idiot;

though I fancy his modesty injured his preferment—for he certainly had very fair pretensions. It was resolved that the holy man should go with us ; and, to my great mortification and disgust, he was mounted behind me on the same camel ; my Mahometant friends probably conceiving that he would so far communicate his sanctity by contact, as that it might affect my conversion to their faith. Whatever were their motives, in the embraces of this nanseous being, with the people prostrating themselves in reverence on each side, I made my entry into the city of Medina.

CHAP. LXV.

There appears to be nothing in their nature above the power of the devil.

EDWARDS *on Religious Affections.*

ARGUMENT.

The Author visits the City of Medina—Description of the Prophet's Tomb, and principal Mosque.

MEDINA Tadlardh, erroneously called Medina Talmabi, is situated in Arabia Deserta, about forty-five miles east from the borders of the Red Sea. To this place, as has been before related, the prophet fled when driven from Mecca his birth-place ; and here he was buried, and his remains still are preserved in a silver coffin, ornamented with a golden crescent, enriched with jewels. cov-

ered with cloth of gold, supported upon silver tressels, and shadowed by a canopy embroidered with silk and gold thread upon silver tissue. This canopy is renewed annually by the bashaw of Egypt, though other bashaws and great men among the Turks often assit in the expense, or augment the value of the yearly present by silver lamps and other ornaments. The whole are contained in a magnificent mosque, in which are suspended innumerable gold and silver lamps, some of which are kept continually burning, and all are lighted on certain public occasions, and even upon the approach of some dignified pilgrim. I had not acquired sufficient holiness from my blessed companion to be permitted to enter this sanctified building. The Arabians are profusely extravagant in the titles they bestow on the city of Medina ; calling it the most holy, most renowned, most excellent city ; the sanctuary of the blessed fugitive ; model of the refulgent city in the celestial paradise ; and some of the great vulgar suppose that when the world shall be destroyed this city, with the prophet's remains, will be transported by angels with all its inhabitants to paradise. We tarried there but a few hours, as the great object of the devotions of the pilgrims was Mecca. Pilgrimages are performed to both places ; but those to Medina are not indispensably necessary, being directed by the book of the companions of the apostle, while those to Mecca are enjoined by the Alcoran itself. The former are supposed meritorious, the latter necessary to salvation. I had the curiosity to inquire

respecting the prophet's coffin being suspended in the air by a load-stone, and was assured that this was a mere Christian obloquy, as no pretensions of any such suspension were ever made.

CHAP. LXVI.

The heaven of heavens cannot contain thee.
BIBLE.

ARGUMENT.

The Author visits Mecca : Description of the Al Kaaba, or house of God.

BEING freed from my blessed companion, I had an agreeable journey from Medina to Mecca, which is the most ancient city in all Arabia ; situated about two hundred miles south-east of Medina, twenty-one degrees and forty-five minutes north latitude, and one hundred and sixteen degrees east longitude from Philadelphia, according to late American calculations. I saw the great mosque in the centre of Mecca, which, it is said, far surpasses in grandeur that of Sancta Sophia in Constantinople. It certainly is a very august building, the roof of which is refulgent ; but even the inhabitants smiled at my credulity, when I observed that I had read it was covered with plated gold. This mosque contains within its limits the grand object of the mussulman's pilgrimage—the *al kaaba*, or house of God, said to

have been built by the hands of the patriarch Abraham ; to confirm which the Arabian priests show a black stone, upon which they say Abraham laid his son Isaac, when he had bound him in preparation for his intended sacrifice. This stone and building were great objects of veneration before the mission of the prophet, and he artfully availed himself of this popular prejudice, in rendering the highest respect to the holy house in his life-time, and enjoining upon his followers, without distinction among males, to visit it once in their lives. The advent of the prophet was said to be announced from the four corners of the house, which exhibit the four cardinal points. Few pilgrims are permitted to enter this sacred venerable building ; but after travelling some of them perhaps a thousand miles, they are content to prostrate themselves in the courts which surround it. Few Mahometans perform this pilgrimage in person ; those who do are highly respected. This pilgrimage was enjoined by the prophet to be performed in person ; but, when he laid this injunction, it is not probable he anticipated the extensive spread of his doctrines. So long as his disciples were limited by the boundaries of Arabia, or had only extended themselves over a part of Syria, this pious journey was practicable and easy ; but when the crescent rose triumphant on the sea-coast and most of the interior of Africa, when it shone with splendor in Persia, Tartary, and Turkey, and even adorned the Moorish minaret in Spain, actual pilgrimage was deemed impracticable ; and the faithful were allowed to visit the kaaba by de-

puty. The ingenuity of modern times has alleviated this religious burden still further, by allowing the deputy to substitute other attorneys under him. Thus for example—the pious mussulman in Belgrade will employ a friend at Constantinople, who will empower another friend at Scandaroon to procure a confidential friend at Grand Cairo to go in the name of him at Belgrade, and perform his pilgrimage to Mecca. Certificates of these several substitutions are preserved, and the lazy mussulman hopes by this finesse to reap the rewards of the faithful in paradise.

CHAP. LXVII.

Sweeter than the harmonica or lute,
Or lyre swept by the master's pliant hand,
Soft as the hymns of infant seraphim,
Are the young sighings of a contrite heart.

AUTHOR'S *Manuscript Poems*.

ARGUMENT.

The Author returns to Scandaroon—Finds Adonah's Son sick—His Contrition—Is restored to Health.

AFTER tarrying sixteen days at Mecca, during which time my masters fasted, prayed, performed their devotions at the kaaba, and sold their merchandize, we retraced the same route to Scandaroon. Here we found the son of Adonah Ben Ben-

jamin, who had been detained in this place by sickness, so weakened from a tedious slow fever that his life was despaired of. He expressed great joy at our return, and begged my professional assistance ; assuring me that he esteemed his present disorder a judicial punishment from the God of his fathers for the injury he had done me ; candidly confessing that he knew of his father's having received my money, which he would restore upon our return to Algiers, if I would effect his recovery. He prevailed upon my masters that I should abide in the house with him during their absence, as they were engaged upon a trading tour to a place called Ginge upon the river Nile. I exerted all my skill, both as a physician and nurse. Perhaps my attention in the latter capacity, assisted by his youth, was of more service than my prescriptions. Be that as it may, he recovered rapidly, and in ten days was able to walk the streets ; but I could not help noticing with sorrows that as his strength increased his gratitude and promises to refund my money decreased.

CHAP. LXVIII.

O what a goodly outside falsehood hath !

SHAKSPEARE.

ARGUMENT.

The Gratitude of a Jew.

ONE day, walking on the beach, the Jew looked me steadily in the face ; and laying his hand

upon my shoulder, said, I owe you my life, I owe you money, which you cannot oblige me to pay. You think a Jew will always deceive in money matters : you are mistaken. You shall not wait for your pay in Algiers ; I will pay you here in Alexandria. I owe you one thousand dollars on my father's account. Now what do you demand for restoring me to health ? Nothing, replied I, overjoyed at his probity ; restore me my money, and you are welcome to my services. This must not be, said the son of Adonah, I have done wickedly, but mean not only to pay you but satisfy my own conscience. I will allow you in addition to the one thousand dollars, two thousand more for your assistance as a physician ; and then will advance three thousand more, which I will take your word to repay me when you are able. I was astonished. I seized his hand and felt his pulse, to discover if he was not delirious. His pulse were regular, and I knew his ability to perform his promise. We will meet here on the morrow, and I will pay you. I met him the next day, and he was not ready to make payment. I now begun to doubt his promises, and blame myself for the delusions of hope. By his appointment I met him the third day, on a retired part of the beach westward from the port. We now saw a man approaching us. That man, said the Jew, will pay you. You well understand, my friend, that your ransom is fixed at six thousand dollars. Now, whoever gives you your liberty, really pays you that sum. I have engaged the person who is approaching, and who is the master of a small vessel, to transport you to Gibraltar, whence you

may find your way home. The man now joined us and confirmed the words of the Jew, for whom he professed a great friendship. It was concluded that I should come to that spot immediately after dark, where I should find a small boat waiting to carry me on board the vessel—the master of the vessel declaring, that he ran a great risk in assisting in my escape ; but was willing to do it out of commiseration for me, and friendship of the Jew ; and reminded me, that I had better pack up all my property and bring it with me. I hastened home with the Jew, and collected all the property I could with propriety call my own ; which consisted of a few clothes, and to the amount of three hundred and twenty dollars in cash. As soon as it was dark, the Jew accompanied me to the beach, and then took an affectionate leave of me, presenting me with the value of ten dollars as a loan, gravely remarking, that now I owed him three thousand and ten dollars, which he hoped I would transport to him as soon as I arrived in America. The Jew quitted me, and I soon discovered the approach of the boat, which I stepped into with a light heart, congratulating myself that I was again A FREE MAN. The boat soon rowed along-side of a vessel that was laying to for us. I jumped on board, and was directly seized by two men, who bound me and hurried me below deck ; and, after robbing me of all my property, left me in the dark to my own reflexions. I had been so long the sport of cruel fortune, that these were not so severe as my sympathising readers may conjecture ;—repeated misfortunes blunt sensibility. I perceived that I had been played a

villanous trick, and exchanged a tolerable slavery for one perhaps more insupportable; but should have been perfectly resigned to my fate, if the fear of being returned to Algiers and suffering the dreadful punishment already related had not presented itself. In the morning I requested to see the captain; and by his orders was brought upon deck. To my surprise, it was not the same person who had decoyed me on board. I was confounded. I intended to have expostulated; but could I tell a stranger, a man who appeared a mussulman by his garb, that I was a ruuaway slave? While I was perplexing myself what to say, the man who had decoyed me on board appeared. He was a passenger, and claimed me as his slave, having purchased me, as he said, for four hundred sequins of a Jew, my former master, and meant to carry me with him to Tunis. I was now awakened to all the horrors of my situation. I dared not irritate my new master by contradictions, and acquiesced in his story in dumb despair. On the eighth day after we departed from Scanderoon the vessel made Cape Bona, and expected soon to anchor in the port of Tunis. My master had a Portuguese slave on board, who slept in the birth with me. He spoke a little broken English, having been formerly a sailor on board a vessel of that nation. He gave me the most alarming apprehensions of the cruelty of our master, but flattered me by saying that the Tunese in general were more mild with their slaves than the Algerines, and allowed a freer intercourse with the European merchants: and by their interference we might obtain our liberty. While my fellow

slave slept, I lay agonising with the dread of entering the port of Tunis. Often did I wish that some friendly rock or kindly leak would sink me and my misfortunes ; and I was nigh being gratified in my desperate wishes ; for the same night a tremendous storm arose, and the gale struck us with such violence, that our sails were instantly flittered into rags. We could not show a yard of canvass, and were obliged to scud under bare poles. The night was excessively dark ; and, to increase our distress, our ballast shifted and we were obliged to cut away our masts by the board to save us from foundering. The vessel righted ; but being strong and light, and the hatchways being well secured, our captain was only fearful of being driven on some Christian coast. The next night the wind lulled : and the morning after the sun arose clear, and we found ourselves off the coast of Sardinia, and within gun-shot of an armed vessel. She proved to be a Portuguese frigate. To the confusion and dismay of our captain and passengers, and to the great joy of myself and fellow slave, the frigate hoisted her colours, manned her boats, and boarded us. No sooner was his national flag displayed than the overjoyed Portuguese ran below and liberated me from my fetters, hugged me in raptures, and, hauling me upon deck, the first man we met was our master, whom he saluted with a kick, and then spit in his face. I must confess that this reverse of fortune made me feel for the wretched mussulman, who stood quivering with apprehensions of instant death. I could not refrain from endeavouring to prevent the Portuguese from avenging himself for the cruelties he

had suffered under this Barbarian. The boats soon boarded us and secured the captain and crew, whom they treated with as bitter contempt as my fellow had exercised towards our late master. This poor fellow soon introduced me to his countrymen with a brief account of my country and misfortunes.

CHAP. LXIX.

How glorious now ! how changed since yesterday !
ANON.

ARGUMENT.

Conclusion.

THE Portuguese officers treated me with politeness ; and when they were rifling the vessel, requested me to select my property from the plunder. I was then sent on board the frigate. The captain expressed much joy at being the means of my deliverance, and told me that the Portuguese had a sincere regard for the Americans ; and that he received express orders to protect our commerce from the Barbary corsairs. The prisoners were brought on board and confined below ; and after every thing valuable was taken from the prize, the ship stood for the Straits of Gibraltar, leaving a boat to fire the Tunese vessel. I never received more civility than from the officers of this frigate. In compliment to them, I was obliged to throw my Mahometan dress over the ship's side ; for they furnished me with every necessary, and many ornamental articles of European clothing. The surgeon was particularly attentive. I lent him some assistance among the sick, his mate being unwell ;

and, among other presents, he gave me a handsome pocket-case of surgical instruments. After a pleasant voyage, we anchored in port Logus in the southern extremity of Portugal. Here I received the agreeable intelligence that the United States were about commencing a treaty with the dey of Algiers, by the agency of Joseph Donaldson, jun. esq. which would liberate my unhappy fellow citizens, and secure the American commerce from future depredations. Without landing, I had the good fortune to obtain a passage on board an English merchantman bound for Bristol, captain Joseph Joceline commander. We had a prosperous voyage to the Land's End ; and, very fortunately for me, just off the little isle of Lundy, spake with a brigantine bound to Chesapeak Bay, captain John Harris commander. In thirty-two days we made Cape Charles, the north chop of the Chesapeak, and I prevailed upon the captain to set me on shore ; and on the third day of May, 1795, I landed in my native country after an absence of seven years and one month ; about six years of which I had been a slave. I purchased a horse, and hastened home to my parents, who received me as one risen from the dead. I shall not attempt to describe their emotions, or my own raptures. I had suffered hunger, sickness, fatigue, insult, stripes, wounds, and every other cruel injury ; and was now under the roof of the kindest and tenderest of parents. I had been degraded to a slave, and was now advanced to a citizen of the freest country in the universe. I had been lost to my parents, friends, and country ; and now found, in the embraces and con-

gratulations of the former, and the rights and protections of the latter, a rich compensation for all past miseries. From some minutes I preserved I compiled these memoirs; and, by the solicitations of some respectable friends, have been induced to submit them to the public. A long disuse of my native tongue will apologise to the learned reader for any inaccuracies.

I now mean to unite myself to some amiable woman, to pursue my practice as a physician, which I hope will be attended with more success than when essayed with the inexperience and giddiness of youth; to contribute cheerfully to the support of our excellent government, which I have learnt to adore in schools of despotism; and thus secure to myself the enviable character of an useful physician, a good father, and worthy FEDERAL citizen.

My ardent wish is, that my fellow citizens may profit by my misfortunes. If they peruse these pages with attention, they will perceive the necessity of uniting our federal strength to enforce a due respect among other nations. Let us one and all endeavour to sustain the general government. Let no foreign emissaries inflame us against one nation, by raking up the ashes of long extinguished enmity; or delude us into the extravagant schemes of another, by recurring to fancied gratitude. Our first object is union among ourselves. For to no nation besides the United States can that ancient saying be more emphatically applied—BY UNITING WE STAND, BY DIVIDING WE FALL.

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